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TWO AUSTRIAN AMBASSADORS DISCUSS THE SUCCESSOR OF PIUS IX

THE pontificate of Pope Pius IX, outstanding in many respects, is also notable in the mere extent of its duration. The British representative at Rome, Odo Russell, who was in close touch with Archbishop Manning and Cardinal Pentini,[1] reported on June 21, 1870, that on this day the Pope entered the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate.[2] "If Pius," thus Russell continues, "lives till the second of March 1871, he will have reigned as long as Pius VI, that is, 24 years, 8 months, and 14 days; but it will not be until the 23 of August, 1871, that His Holiness will have accomplished the days of St. Peter who reigned 25 years, 2 months, and 3 days." The old formula usually expressed in the words *annos Petri non videbis* did not—for the first time in history—apply in his case.[3]

[1] Manning was created cardinal in 1875; for his exchange with Odo Russell during the period of the Vatican Council, cf. E. D. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, II, 433 ff. For Pentini cf. R. De Cesare, *Rome e lo Stato del Papa* (Roma, 1907), II, 135.

[2] British Foreign Office, *Reports*, Rome, 1870.

[3] Pius VI was elected pope February 15, 1775; he died August 29, 1799. This makes a reign of twenty-four years, six months, fourteen days. The reign of St. Peter according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886) I, 118 was twenty-five years, two months, three days. Some catalogues give different numbers; none of them is ascertained historically. The formula is not pronounced at the coronation of a pope; cf. *Il sacro rito antico e moderno della elezione, coronazione e solemne possesso del sommo pontefice*, (Roma, 1769) pp. 167 f.

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However, the continuance of this reign seemed threatened at times. At the beginning of 1870, Lord Acton, who was then in Rome as an observer of the Vatican Council, though certainly not as an unbiased one, reported to the British Prime Minister about a "strange plan for the abdication of the Pope."[4] The rumor indicated a plan of Pius "to carry the dogma (of Papal Infallibility) for the see and not for himself and to abdicate as soon as he has obtained it."

Time and again the pontificate had been rendered uncertain by crises due to the poor health of the Pope. Because of ill health in his youth he had needed a papal dispensation in order to receive ordination as a subdeacon.[5] Though his health improved in a remarkable way with maturity, some dangerous attacks of illness were nonetheless observed by watching diplomats, and at such moments curiosity was often aroused as to the probable successor to the See of St. Peter. Such speculations sometimes turned to surveying the College of Cardinals, which included not only the electors but also, in all probability, the candidate. Since Boniface IX (1389), a cardinal had always been elected pope, and since Clement VII (1523), an Italian candidate had always been elected.[6]

Gregorovius, the romantic historian of mediaeval Rome, refers in his diaries in the fall of 1866 to Pius IX as "ten times reported dead and yet reviving again."[7] The letters of the Prussian diplomat, von Schloezer, which give much interesting, though thoroughly biased, gossip on Rome during the last years of the existence of the Pontifical State, describe the excitement in the Eternal City at the news of a serious illness of the Pope in the spring of 1864, and they

[4] *Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton*, ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (London, 1917), I, 98 f. The writer remembers having read reflections of a similar kind in the reports of British diplomats from Rome.

[5] Cf. J. Schmidlin, *Papstgeschichte der neuesten Zeit* (Muenchen, 1934), II, 7ff.

[6] J. B. Saegmueller, *Lehrbuch des katholischen Kirchenrechts* (Freiburg, 1934), 4th ed., I, 493. References to the Pope's health are to be found also in *United States Ministers to the Papal States*, ed. by Leo F. Stock (Washington, D. C., 1933).

[7] F. Gregorovius, *The Roman Journals, 1852-74*, (London, 1911) p. 261.

report the plotting on the events of the future conclave.[8] Moreover, in the last days of the temporal power, the secret negotiations for a triple alliance between France, Austria, and Italy offer a proof of how great the interest of the political leaders of Europe was in the successor of the Pope who both witnessed the complete spoliation of the temporal sovereignty and adorned the spiritual sovereignty with new splendor. In the decisive stage which the negotiations reached in the spring of 1869, the three powers attempted to reach an agreement as to how to influence the election of the successor of Pius IX.[9]

In view of the many possible political complications which might precede the opening of a conclave—it was rumored in Rome in the sixties [10] that the Italian party planned a coup the day after the death of the Pope, while the conclave was expected to be opened only on the ninth day after his death—Pius, influenced by the extraordinary general conditions, tried several times to settle the question himself. At the opening of the Vatican Council the Pope provided by a special bull for the case of the death of a pope while a council was in session.[11] He thereby eliminated the possibility of a conflict between the cardinals and the council. Earlier, by a brief in the spring of 1861, Pius IX asked that his successor be elected immediately after his death without the traditional delay of at least nine days [12] in view of the special political complications which might occur if the tradition were observed at that time.[13] In the last years of his reign, furthermore, Pius seems to have indicated

[8] K. v. Schloezer, *Roemische Briefe, 1864-69* (Stuttgart), pp. 19 f. It may be said that Schloezer presents the Protestant-German, De Cesare the liberal-Italian, and Teste (*Préface au Conclave*, Paris, 1877) the French point of view of the gossip around the Roman court in the later years of Pius IX.

[9] H. Oncken, *Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III. von 1863-1870* (1926), III, 121, 165 ff. Cf. Article VI of the "Convention Spéciale."

[10] Schloezer, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[11] Th. Granderath, *Geschichte des vaticanischen Konzils* (Freiburg, 1903), I, 454 f.

[12] Saegmueller, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

[13] J. Maurain, *La politique ecclésiastique du Second Empire* (Paris, 1930), p. 510 f; St. Jacini, *Il Tramonto del potere temporale* (Bari, 1931), p. 66.

the man whom he thought best fitted to succeed him to the See of St. Peter.[14]

However, the importance of the cardinals is not confined to the election of a pope, nor was it so during the last century. Their position has been defined as that of forming "the senate of the Pope," as being his "principal advisers and assistants in the government of the Church."[15] Thus their importance naturally increases when any crisis occurs in that government.

In June, 1861, Rome was again filled with rumors of a serious illness of her temporal and spiritual sovereign, who was then sixty-nine years old. Pius had fainted in the Sistine Chapel in April and did not seem to recover. Napoleon III asked for a report on all members of the Sacred College. The Austrian ambassador also prepared a detailed survey of the cardinals,[16] which was presented in its final form on December 14 of that year. During the lapse of these months two important deaths had occurred in the political world: that of Count Cavour, the powerful antagonist of the Pontifical State, on June 6,[17] and that of Cardinal Santucci, a conspicuous member of the College of Cardinals, on August 19.

[14] R. de Cesare, *Il conclave di Leone XIII e il futuro conclave* (Città di Castello, 1888), p. 191.

[15] Saegmueller, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

[16] Jacini, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Maurain, *op. cit.*, p. 510 f; *Carteggio Cavour, La questione romana* (Bologna, 1929), II, 178, 201. On the illness of the Pope, cf. also Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[17] There were persistent rumors that the Jesuits were linked with the death of the Italian statesman and that proofs of this connection could be found in the British Record Office among the reports addressed to Palmerston, who was Prime Minister at that time. The writer found there but one report on the death of Cavour, written by J. Hudson, the British minister in Turin, an intimate friend of Cavour. The report—the writer read the draft since the final copies had been removed from the Record Office in the spring of 1940—is addressed to Lord J. Russell, the Foreign Secretary, and begins as follows: "To say that Count Cavour died this morning at five minutes past seven would not be a correct presentation of this most untoward event for Italy. It would be nearer the truth to say that Count Cavour was put to death by his physicians." After having given the details of the last phases of the Count's illness, Hudson writes: "So perished Count Cavour. His public services, his qualities as a statesman, his genius are European and are so well known and appreciated by Your Lordship as not to need description by me.

Apart from all personal considerations, the changes which political events had brought to the Roman court during 1860 and 1861 would have amply justified the most detailed report, especially to the Austrian government. With the fall of Gaeta in February, 1861, the last remnant of the Bourbon kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which Garibaldi and his forces invaded May 11, 1860, had crumbled. On September 18 of that year the papal army had been crushed at Castelfidardo. In November the famous plebiscite in the Marches and in Umbria were added to that of Romagna held in in March. Through the plebiscites all these parts of the Pontifical State were supposed to ask for annexation to Piedmont. These events and similar ones in other states of the peninsula, led to the proclamation of the kingdom of Italy on March 17, 1861. By this proclamation the Pope was deprived of by far the larger part of his dominion. Would the government in Vienna submit to this outright victory of the principles of Napoleonic plebiscites and national sovereignty? Would it abandon its championship of the principle of legitimacy, for which it was known throughout the world?

It is a well established fact that, after the defeats of 1859, the young emperor of Austria was convinced that the lost provinces of Lombardy had to be taken back from the Piedmontese. If Austria was to persist in the form and spirit determined by the Congress of Vienna, the Austrian statesmen of these years were convinced that the final destiny of the Empire would depend on the outcome of events in Italy. If the legitimate order was to be restored and maintained throughout Europe, there was no problem of greater importance than that of the restoration of the Pontifical State. Yet the Hapsburg monarchy had been thoroughly weakened by the defeat of 1859 and by the internal difficulties which

In private life the warmest, most constant, and most genial of friends, who never bore malice, who under defeat maintained his equanimity and was not elated with success, who even on his deathbed had proved his foresight. When his friends told him only yesterday his physicians looked for his recovery, he cast a glance round the room and, not seeing a doctor, said: 'Ah, have they left me? Well, I shall leave them tomorrow.' As he predicted, so it happened: at five past seven this morning he expired tranquilly—without pain—with a smile upon his lips." The report concludes: "Whether the proximate cause of his death will ever be stated, I cannot say, but I believe it to have been paralysis of the lungs." Foreign Office, *Reports*, Turin, 1861.

accompanied and followed it. Count Rechberg, the statesman to whom Francis Joseph had entrusted the reconstruction of the Empire, thought it indispensable to readjust the internal affairs of Austria first of all, and to restrict the foreign policy to the task of freeing the monarchy from that dangerous isolation in which it found itself at the outbreak of the war of 1859. Foreign complications should be avoided, almost at any cost. Such a task, not easy at any time, was certainly not simple at the moment when Prussia, preparing to accept the leadership of Bismarck, was the neighbor on the north, and Sardinia, already led by Cavour, was the neighbor on the south. A more difficult test of Rechberg as a statesman could hardly be imagined than the series of events which led to the destruction of the kingdom of Naples and the spoliation of the Pontifical State. The reflections and reactions of the Ballhausplatz at this time have not yet been studied, but the results are well known: Austria did not move, either in 1860 or in 1861. "Austria needs peace," Rechberg wrote even three years later;[18] she could not afford to give the Pope more help than her internal conditions would allow.

Baron Bach had been sent to Rome to represent the Hapsburg monarchy. The historian who studied him most closely did not shrink—though he was thoroughly opposed to the baron's political conceptions—from calling him the greatest administrative genius which Austria-Hungary produced during the nineteenth century.[19] Bach, born in 1813, came from a well-to-do peasant family of Lower Austria.[20] He started his career as a gifted, rather liberal jurist.

[18] Concerning the problems of Austrian policy after 1859, cf. the author's *Graf Rechberg* (Muenchen, 1927), pp. 35 ff. and his essay "Die Krise des Jahres 1864, in Oesterreich" in *Historische Studien A. F. Pribram zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Wien, 1929), pp. 155 ff. The sentence quoted in the text here is taken from Rechberg's memoir, October 20, 1864, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[19] H. Friedjung, "Alexander Bach's Jugend und Bildungsjahre" in *Historische Aufsaetze* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 24. Numerous references to Bach from a generally unfavorable point of view are to be found in *Tagebuch des Polizeiministers Kempen, 1848-59*, ed. by J. K. Mayr (Wien, 1931).

[20] Friedjung, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff. A descendant of Bach who was musically inclined liked to think of herself as descending from Johann Sebastian Bach. There is no proof for such an assumption. The rich papers of the minister have been used by Friedjung but are not exhausted by any means.

As a liberal he entered the government during the crucial year of 1848. However, his sense of authority, his fondness for power, and his passion for a well-ordered administration soon drove him over to the side of the conservatives. From 1849 to 1859, during the period of Austrian reaction, Bach personified to the people of Austria the autocratic regime; his resignation was one of the most urgent demands of the awakening liberal opposition after the defeat of 1859.[21] His outspoken Catholic convictions were severely criticized by his opponents. In Rome the sturdy, peasant-like Austrian Catholic found no favor with the versatile North-German minds. Gregorovius thought him "of common place aspect—one may almost call him ugly."[22]

Under the conditions outlined above, Baron Bach drew up the detailed report on the cardinals which he sent to Rechberg at a period when "Roma capitale" had already been proclaimed by the parliament of Turin. The period of great political influence of the members of the Sacred College had long passed by the middle of the nineteenth century. The cardinals whom the successors of Pius VII created were chosen from another point of view.

In July, 1861, when the Pope was ill, Bach put the cardinals in three groups.[23] Twenty-nine then resided in Rome. Of these the ambassador considered fourteen conservatives, ten liberals, and five whose attitude was doubtful. Of the thirteen Italian cardinals not residing in Rome he listed six as conservative, one as liberal, and six as doubtful. The remaining fifteen cardinals, spread throughout the non-Italian world, did not count for succession; for more than 330 years, with no interruption, only Italians had been elected. This political arrangement was the basis of the ambassador's survey. Bach knew, though he was not aware of the whole importance

[21] An oft-told anecdote reports that when Emperor Francis Joseph discussed ways in which to please the Viennese by political concessions, considering the poor condition of Austrian finances after the unlucky war, he got this advice: "Your Majesty, just let Bach hang; that will please the Viennese enormously and will cost nothing at all." However, this story is not confined to Bach; it was also applied to Prince Starhemberg in the time of Chancellor Schuschnigg.

[22] *Roman Journals*, pp. 74 *f.*

[23] Jacini, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

of the facts,[24] that the political attitude of the princes of the Church had been of great moment at important negotiations held in Rome at the beginning of the year.

The designation of liberal had a special connotation at that time. For grouping the cardinals politically, the distinction between the followers of France and Austria (*Austriacanti*) had long been traditional. Since the return of Pius VII a liberal group was thought of as opposed to the *zelanti*. In the revolutionary year of 1848 the liberal attitude of some cardinals had already taken on an anti-Austrian, national-Italian expression. However, two trends of thought still existed which reflected a liberal national attitude. One group thought that the Pope should become the leader of a reborn Italian confederation—according to supposedly historical antecedents it was called " neo-guelph." Their ideas were shaped by Gioberti, the philosopher, Cesare Balbo, the political thinker, and Father Tosti, the historian. The other group, led by the house of Savoy, believed in the necessity of the Piedmontese solution of the Italian national problem in the form of a centralistic liberal state. Cardinal Carlo Luigi Morichini, the enthusiastic supporter of Pius IX's plan for an Italian customs union in 1847, was in the first group; he had gone to Vienna on a diplomatic mission in the spring of 1848 to negotiate a peace between Austria and Sardinia,[25] based on the principles of the *nazionalità Italiana*, which included Lombardy and Venetia. Cardinal Amat had been active in introducing political and economic reforms into the Pontifical State at that time.[26] The most noteworthy work of this type may have been done by Cardinal Bofondi, a learned and subtle canonist who was made cardinal-secretary in 1848 and who also remained in favor with the Pope after the restoration.[27] Pentini, who received the purple in 1863, had

[24] This clearly results from Bach's report of February 6, 1861, as published by Jacini, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

[25] Article in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXIII, 853 f.; Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 32; and especially the articles by Fernanda Gentili in *Rassegna storica del risorgimento* (1914), 1922, and *Rassegna contemporanea* (1914).

[26] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 17, 20, 24.

[27] There is a good article on Bofondi by A. M. Ghisalberti in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, VII, 275, unfortunately without any bibliographical references. Cf. also De Cesare, *Roma e lo stato*, II, 137.

been a close friend of Pellegrino Rossi, the liberal Prime Minister of Pius IX in 1848.[28] Liberal political convictions are known to have been held by the Pontiff himself at that time; however Pius IX looked not without favor on the national-Italian attitude all during his reign.

But a more serious political test approached for the cardinals at a moment after the Pope had revised his political ideas. In the winter of 1860-1861 Cavour made an attempt to reach an agreement with the Holy See which has been hailed by some Italian historians as an almost complete precedent for the Lateran Pact of 1929.[29] The chief agent of Cavour, the physician Pantaleoni, who was perhaps not too well-chosen for this purpose, complained in October about the political indifference of the cardinals, an attitude which he attributed to the dominant influence exercised by the cardinal-secretaries of state, first Lambruschini, then Antonelli. Yet one month later he emphasized the importance of working upon the members of the College, singling out Santucci, not for his special capacity but because this cardinal had already been employed in the affairs of Sardinia.[30] A week after that Pantaleoni thought Cardinal De Pietro the politician of greatest importance, calling him the cardinal "il piu sentito dopo l'Antonelli" and seeing in him the successful rival of the secretary of state. Pantaleoni added that De Pietro was still hesitant as to the project of an agreement with Sardinia, but the agent felt confident that he would win over ten out of the twenty-eight members then residing in Rome.[31] Santucci seemed to have been most propitious. He accepted in December the lengthy memorandum in which the doctor had stressed the reconciliation with Sardinia on the basis of a free church in a free state, which meant the loss of the temporal power. Furthermore, he saw the Pope about the plan and received from him the order to compose a draft for an agreement (*componimento*).[32]

[28] Cesare, *op. cit.*, II, 134.

[29] Careful study and analysis of the negotiations of Cavour is still needed.

[30] *Carteggio Cavour, La questione romana* (Bologna, 1929), I, 46, 69 f.

[31] *Carteggio*, I, 76. According to Bach there were twenty-nine.

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 120 ff., 138.

In January, 1861, the discussions between the Pope, Santucci, and Antonelli, still based on the memorandum of Pantaleoni, proceeded, but the influence and opposition of the cardinal-secretary soon predominated.[33] The ex-Jesuit, Father Passaglia, Cavour's second agent in the negotiations, reported at the end of this month that at least six cardinals were already in agreement with the project of reconciliation: Santucci, D'Andrea, Amat, Bofondi, De Pietro, and De Silvestri.[34] At the beginning of February Cavour also seemed optimistic, in spite of the skepticism of Napoleon III as to the final result of these negotiations.[35] On February 11 the Prime Minister sent letters from Turin to Cardinals Santucci and D'Andrea on the necessity of an agreement based on the "principles of liberty."[36] The latter cardinal was considered by many as the leader of the liberal opposition in the Sacred College and the chief rival of Antonelli. A week later Santucci spoke to Father Passaglia in a rather optimistic way, although the attitude of Antonelli had clearly become uncompromising. Both inquired about possible guarantees for the future. By the beginning of March it became evident that the negotiations had failed.[37] The proclamation of the kingdom of Italy on March 17 may have accelerated the final rupture. In the College, Santucci and D'Andrea, at least through his secretary, were compromised.

The Austrian ambassador learned about these negotiations through the cardinal-secretary, who mentioned the number of cardinals supposed to favor them but did not give the names. Bach guessed four names correctly; he missed that of Santucci.[38] In his

[33] *Ibid.*, I, 187 ff., 212.

[34] *Ibid.*, I, 238 f.

[35] *Ibid.*, I, 271, 214.

[36] *Ibid.*, I, 277 ff.

[37] *Ibid.*, II, 41, 45, 66 ff, 89 ff. L. M. Case, *Franco-Italian Relations 1860-1865* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 36 ff., fails to take into account the anti-papal activity of Turin in order to explain the breakdown of the negotiations. He rather refers to anecdotes about Antonelli which need critical analysis.

[38] Cf. the reports published by Jacini, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff., especially 50. A report allegedly written by Bach on December 19, 1860, intercepted and sent to Cavour by Pantaleoni on February 26, 1861 (*Carteggio*, II, 18) proves to be a falsification when compared with published originals.

report to Rechberg the diplomat first gave a characterization of each cardinal and then drew up what he called a "tableau" of them, grouping them according to their fitness to be elected pope.[39] He put into the fourth category, " cardinaux à exclure," [40] the names of those who were known to have had liberal and Italian national sympathies in the negotiations with Cavour. He termed Amat " the leader of the liberal group in the College, the admitted candidate of Italy, and probably of France." It was this same cardinal who had been considered too conciliatory even in 1844 when he acted as papal legate in Ravenna, and whom Sardinia had wanted as archbishop of Turin in 1850.[41] Bach, of course, added D'Andrea and then named Morichini for his Italian national leanings in 1847 and 1848.[41a] He further listed in this group the name of a scion of the old Roman nobility, Altieri, although this cardinal had been nuncio to Vienna during the later period of Metternich. Altieri participated in the triumvirate of cardinals who had to restore public order in the Pontifical State after the collapse of the Roman republic in 1849.[42] These three cardinals, because of their reactionary political activity, were highly unpopular with the Italian liberal

[39] At the writer's disposal are the notes and excerpts he made from the originals of the reports of Baron Bach and Count Trautmannsdorff in the Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv (St.A.) in Vienna. The director of the St.A. in the summer of 1938 declined to furnish a full copy of the reports.

[40] G. Leti, *Roma e lo Stato Pontificio* (Ascoli, 1911) I, 313 f. The three Catholic courts of Austria, France, and Spain claimed the right to " exclude " at each conclave one candidate from being elected pope. This privilege, never acknowledged fully, was finally abolished by Pius X in 1904. Saegmueller, *op. cit.*, pp. 497 ff.

[41] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, I, 551, note 7. Amat is listed among the " moderates " by Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[41a] Napoleon thought in 1864 of Morichini " essere quella una porpora che odora di Papato "; the Emperor had been told that the cardinal was the son of a physician whom Napoleon I consulted in St. Helena. F. Gentili, " La Relazione dell 'ambasceria di Mons. Morichini " in *Rassegna contemporanea* (1914), p. 441.

[42] Article in *Enciclopedia Italiana,* II, 703 f; De Cesare, op. cit., p. 134; F. Salata, *Per la Storia diplomatica della questione Romana* (Milano, 1929), p. 57. Altieri died in 1867 assisting to the last moment those of his people struck by cholera in the Diocese of Albano. Cf. also, Schloezer, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

nationalists, but the letter which the abbot of Montecassino addressed to Altieri in March, 1861, proves that he—at least at certain moments—favored the reconciliation with Turin.[43] Altieri lived as a *gran signore*, was believed to oppose Antonelli and the policy of the secretary of state thoroughly, and was said to have been strictly liberal and anti-Austrian in 1848.[44] Finally, among those to be excluded, Bach put the name of another cardinal of noble descent, Grasselini, who is usually listed among the liberals.[45] Two cardinals whom Bach knew to have taken part in the Cavour negotiations, De Silvestri and De Pietro, were not included in the group of those whom Austria should exclude from the election.

In the first category Bach listed the cardinals whose election would be desirable to Austria from every point of view.[46] Here he put but one name, that of the archbishop of Fermo, De Angelis; however, the ambassador added that he would have placed Cardinal Santucci here also had he not died. In a death notice which Bach had sent in September,[47] he called the political ideas of this prelate, who played a relatively prominent part in the negotiations of 1860-61, "conservative in the word's best meaning," though he was aware that some trustworthy persons thought otherwise. The ambassador's judgment might have been influenced by the important part which Santucci played in bringing about the Austrian concordat, concluded in 1855 while Bach was minister. This assumption becomes the more probable since the ambassador, when he spoke of De Angelis, his own candidate, calls him "de la trempe de feu le cardinal Viale-Prelà" of whom he was the pupil and admirer.

[43] The letter is printed by Salata, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.

[44] Schloezer, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[45] Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Schloezer, *op. cit.*, p. 14, 19 f. But De Cesare calls him an "intransigente in politica," *op. cit.*, II, 141.

[46] "Cardinaux préferables sur tous les rapports"; second category "candidates acceptables" in case none of the first group receives the necessary number of votes; third category "cardinaux dont l'election serait à éviter"; fourth category "cardinaux à exclure"; fifth category "cardinaux nuls par suite de leur âge et de leurs infirmités."

[47] Jacini, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff; the portrait of Santucci as given by De Cesare *op. cit.*, p. 142, seems to be grossly exaggerated.

Viale-Prelà, who died in the spring of 1860, had been nuncio to Vienna for a decade and was the representative of the Roman curia in negotiating the concordat with Bach.[48] De Angelis was described by the diplomat as a "prince of the Church, really respectable, who generally is considered to have the best chance for the tiara." When Bach summarized his report, he repeated that only De Angelis appeared as a candidate really *papeggiante;* "except for him, there is but division and party strife, which will bring a prolonged conclave, the issue of which remains in the hands of God."

Cardinal Philip De Angelis was then sixty-nine years old but in excellent health. He had already been *papabile* in the conclave of 1846 which elected Mastai Feretti as Pius IX. He had been created *in petto* by Gregory XVI in 1838.[49] Not the least reason for his being made the candidate of Austria may have been the fact that the cardinal, whom the Roman republic had already imprisoned, was compelled by the Italian government to live for many more years far from his diocese. He was confined to Turin through fear of his political influence in the Marches.[50] Uncompromisingly conservative, De Angelis seems to have favored the policy of Austria in the days of Pius IX's liberalism, and to have not shrunk from criticizing the policy of the Pope.[51]

Should the candidature of De Angelis fail, Bach listed four more as belonging to the first group: Mattei, Patrizi, Riario-Sforza, and Barnabò. The first, who had been made secretary of the interior

[48] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 137. The most intensive and extensive study on the Austrian concordat was made by M. Hussarek, "Die Verhandlung des Konkordats vom 18.VIII.1855" in *Archiv für österr. Geschichte*, CIX (1922), and "Die Krise und die Lösung des Konkordats," *ibid.*, CXII (1932). On the part played by Santucci, cf. "Verhandlung des Konkordats," CIX, p. 608. Archbishop Rauscher's judgment on Santucci as being politically conservative, *ibid.*, n. 328. Hussarek restricts the part which was usually attributed to Bach in bringing about the conclusion of the concordat.

[49] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, I, 652.

[50] Jacini, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 144, 155. It is a strange fact that neither the *Enciclopedia Italiana* nor the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, which, however, contains very little on the princes of the Church of that period, carries an article on the cardinal. G. Leti, *Fermo e il Cardinale De Angelis* (Rome, 1902) was not available to me.

[51] G. Leti, *Roma e lo Stato Pontifico* (Ascoli, 1911), I, 346 f.

by the uncompromising Lambruschini, had been among the *papabili* friendly to reforms in the conclave of 1846, and at the time of Bach's report he was the dean of the Sacred College.[52] Patrizi, the cardinal-vicar, had belonged to the intransigent opponents of Mattei at the conclave which elected Pius IX; he represented the Pope at the baptism of the son of Napoleon III in Paris and belonged to the intimates of Pius. "Weakness united with goodness was the distinctive feature of his character," Teste relates,[53] "he was not born for fighting." Barnabò was at the head of the Propaganda. Riario-Sforza, the archbishop of Naples, like De Angelis, had been driven from his diocese by the new rulers of Italy because of his fidelity to his former sovereign. He had had some Italian national leanings, and in 1848 he even favored war against Austria; but in 1861 his ardent zeal for the temporal power and his loyalty to the cause of the defeated Bourbons made him an acceptable candidate to Bach.[54] "This cardinal," said Teste, "is neither thinker nor orator nor scholar nor statesman, but he has dignity, he is firm, courageous, and in a magnificent way, despises honors as this world understands them. He is a saint; that is his characterization."[55] According to the biographer of Leo XIII, Riario resembled St. Charles Borromeo in many things and had been the most *papabile* of all the cardinals.[56]

The ambassador had little to say in favor of the cardinal who actually became the successor to Pius IX. Pecci, the Archbishop of Perugia, seemed to him to possess very limited capacities and a weak character. "He enjoys a good reputation as a bishop." Bach emphasized the good disposition of the Franciscan Panebianco toward Austria, and he added that this cardinal, who had been created but a few months before, was considered as one "qui

[52] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, I, 535; II, 15; Jacini, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[53] Teste, *op. cit.*, p. 77 f.; Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 15, note 15; Maurain, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 115; Jacini, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Pantaleoni, *Carteggio*, I, 68, gives a caricature of the cardinal.

[54] On Riario-Sforza, cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXIX, 201.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

[56] E. Soderini, *The Pontificate of Leo XIII* (London, 1934), I, 20.

a de l'avenir." Panebianco was indeed destined to be counted among the intransigent *papabili* in 1878.[57]

The ambassador carefully portrayed D'Andrea, the cardinal who was supposed to be the closest to national liberalism and the ardent rival of the cardinal-secretary. "Very ambitious," he calls D'Andrea;[58] "his capacities are far below his pretentions. He often goes in society and there attacks Cardinal Antonelli with more passion than foundation." The diplomat did not think that D'Andrea would ever be a serious competitor for the tiara, but might strive for the office of secretary of state in the next conclave. The cardinal, after some polemics, had resigned as prefect of the Congregation of the Index, a fact which, according to Bach, had done permanent harm to his reputation. He was on friendly terms with all members of the clergy who were known for their liberal-nationalist feelings; Pappalettere, the abbot of the great Benedictine abbey of Montecassino, and its famous historian, Padre Tosti;[59] the learned ex-Jesuit, Passaglia, who had once been influential with the Pope and then became the agent of Cavour in 1860-1861; and the liberal Catholic Italian statesman, Gualterio, for whom Lord Acton had words of high praise, calling him "the only Italian statesman who possesses detailed and personal knowledge of parties and characters in Rome."[60] Gualterio, however, had displayed some activity which was directed formally against the temporal power and in 1860 led the insurrection in Umbria. It would be worthwhile to inquire to what extent the opposition of the cardinal, a scion of a family of Neapolitan nobility, and of his Montecassino friends to the rigorous absolutism of their native dynasty, the Bourbons of Naples, had influenced their general political conceptions.[61] Count

[57] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 302, 340, 345.

[58] On D'Andrea, see an article in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XII, 290; De Cesare, *op. cit.*, p. 142 ff.; Jacini, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 136 ff., etc. Schloezer, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 f., 111.

[59] Salata, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff.

[60] *The Chronicle* (November 2, 1867), p. 746. There is an insufficient article on Gualterio in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XVIII, 11.

[61] For the political attitude of Pappalettere and Tosti cf. also Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff., 267.

Gualterio, as prefect of Naples under Victor Emanuel II, became the representative of the liberal policy in that country.

As for the much-discussed cardinal-secretary, the ambassador saw in him a strong and influential statesman. Antonelli shared, the report stated, the lot of his predecessors, Cardinals Consalvi and Lambruschini. He was calumniated by the public and hated by the majority of his colleagues. "Rightly or wrongly," Bach went on, "the cardinals reproach him for excluding them from any real influence in the direction of the government of the Pontifical State, and with knowing how to keep away from the Pope everyone whose independence of view or advice might hamper his own ascendancy. . . . The public accuses Antonelli of having substituted for the nepotism of the popes the nepotism of the secretary of state." Nonetheless, this cardinal might exercise a great influence at the next conclave, an influence which he would probably use to make pope the candidate "who will be least contrary to his policy and person." To the reasons for which the secretary of state was criticized at the time of Bach's report, there was soon added one which seemed to be the most powerful: the complete failure in maintaining the temporal state; Rome was occupied by the Italian army in September, 1870. Who then cared that the cardinal had foreseen this event for a long time while he thought and said, when presented with ideas of compromise, "better disappear as we are, with all the great ideals and forms of our past greatness." It may, therefore, be recalled that a man who certainly did not share the political principles of Cardinal Antonelli, Emile Ollivier, the last Prime Minister of the Second Empire, depicted him in quite other than the usual way.[62] Ollivier considered Antonelli as belonging to that group of great souls who were superior to destiny and to the judgment of men. "He did not know much of what is written in books, but he was very learned in the science which life teaches." However, this characterization of the statesman, as given by Ollivier, does not mention the lust for power, without which the cardinal-secretary would perhaps never have succeeded in holding his position in this period. It was illustrated especially in the way in which he scat-

[62] *L'Eglise et l'état au concile du Vatican* (Paris, 1877), I, 502 f.

tered cardinals who had been successful on their missions as nuncios (e.g., Viale-Prelà, Morichini, and Vannicelli) throughout the bishoprics of Italy in order thus to keep them away from Rome and the Curia.[63]

Bach's report reveals that the ambassador was more concerned with those members of the Sacred College who belonged to the politically-minded, or, as De Cesare liked to call them, the *mondani*, than with the *santi* or *santoni*.[64] De Cesare assumed that this second group was represented by two of those whom Bach had discussed—Santucci and, especially, Panebianco.

The Austrian ambassador was not right when he stated that the Sacred College lacked members of noble origin. The names of Patrizi, Mattei, Altieri, Asquini, Riario-Sforza, and Silvestri prove the contrary, but there were few representatives of the old Roman families.[65] Bach complained about the lack of men outstanding for scientific, intellectual, or political capacities: "The Baronii and the Bellarmins of the sixteenth century, the Mais and Paccas of our epoch had no heirs of their literary glory."[66] The ambassador did not doubt the personal respectability of the great majority of the College, but, he said, "perhaps only half of them, perhaps even less, are above mediocrity." His judgment and selection, however, were completely dominated by the political interests of his country, which he thought Catholic, conservative, and anti- or supra-national, in contrast to the policy of the Italy of Victor Emmanuel II and of the France of Napoleon III.

[63] F. Gentili, "Il Cardinale Monichini, Le sue vicende politiche" in *Rassegna della Storia del Risorgimento*, (1922), 107. The chapter on Antonelli in Teste is but an accumulation of malevolent anecdotes.

[64] De Cesare, *op. cit.*, II, 141.

[65] De Cesare, *Il Conclave di Leone XIII*, p. 494, complains that conditions grew even worse under Leo XIII from this point of view. On the structure of the Sacred College from the social point of view cf. Teste, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

[66] Cardinal Angelo Mai, 1782-1854, the famous librarian of the Ambrosiana and then of the Vaticana, an outstanding philologist and palaeographer. Cf. the chapter on him in the *Recollections* of Cardinal Wiseman. Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca, 1756-1854, leader of the intransigent group under Pius VII, often opposed to the policy of Consalvi; pro-secretary of state, 1808; highly cultured. He is the author of important memoirs, a part of which is said to be still kept unpublished in the Vatican Archives.

By the time an Austrian diplomat again surveyed the Sacred College decisive changes had taken place, and those not only in respect to personalities. When on July 11, 1869, Count Trautmannsdorff wrote his report on the changes which had taken place in the personnel of the College since 1863,[67] Austria's position in Italy and in Europe had been weakened still more: the monarchy had lost Venice and had been driven from the Apennine peninsula in 1866. Pius IX then said that the cession of this province also meant the death sentence of the Pontifical State, but, at the same time, he declared that he would stay in Rome and " wait for the barbarians " there.[68] Perhaps the greater danger lay in the fact that by 1869 the last Catholic power on which the Pope could depend, the Second Empire of France, already showed distinct signs of political decay, and the rise of Bismarck's Germany seemed to protect the existence of Savoy-ruled Italy from foreign and internal troubles.

The Austrian defeat in 1866, with the loss of hegemony in Italy as well as in Germany, brought a change in the whole policy of the Hapsburg empire. The arrival of Baron Beust at the Ballhausplatz in Vienna, in November, 1866, was the expression of a new liberal regime which would prepare the war of revenge against Prussia. In foreign policy this change included readiness to cooperate not only with France, but also with the new Italian kingdom, a policy which Rechberg and Bach had opposed to the utmost. Internally, the liberalism of Beust expressed itself in anti-clericalism, and this meant active hostility to the concordat concluded by Bach.[69] This policy had entered a decisive phase with the interconfessional and matrimonial laws of the spring of 1868. For this purpose, in November, 1867, Beust had recalled Huebner, the

[67] St. A.

[68] Cf. the author's *Der Freiherr von Huebner* (Innsbruck, 1933), pp. 185 f.

[69] One can hardly agree with the characterization of Beust as " pro-Catholic " which Professor Arlinghaus gives in his interesting article on " The Kulturkampf and the European Diplomacy ", *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (October, 1942), 348. The best refutation of such a view is given by Beust in Volume II of his memoirs, *Aus drei Vierteljahrhunderten* (Stuttgart, 1887). For a survey of the events which led to the nullification of the concordat by Austria on July 30, 1870 cf. Beust, *op. cit.*, II, 406, Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 140 f; and Hussarek, *loc. cit.*

strictly Catholic and conservative ambassador, who had succeeded Bach at the Palazzo di Venezia. However, the diplomat whom the chancellor sent as representative of Austria to Rome after a year's interval, Count Ferdinand Trautmannsdorff-Weinsberg,[70] held convictions not less openly religious and conservative than the man whom Beust had recalled; as he said himself, that diplomat would have been about as willing to negotiate the annulment of the concordat as would a Roman prelate.[71] Yet Trautmannsdorff, in spite of the nickname of Don Magnifico, was far less intransigent in ways and manners than Huebner and, as witness his reports from Rome after the occupation in September, 1870, was more skeptical of the political attitude of the Pope and especially of that of the cardinal-secretary.

One more reason for drawing up the report on the cardinals in the summer of 1869 could be found outside the sphere of mere politics: this survey was made on the eve of the general council which the Pope had convoked on the feast of the Apostles in 1868 for the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1869. The political repercussions were great; the questions of whether and how far the political powers could or should interfere were discussed in all the European chancelleries. At least after the publication of the articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Roman review of the Jesuits, in February and March, 1869, it was generally known that the proclamation of papal infallibility would be discussed at the Council. It was, therefore, of interest for many reasons in political quarters to learn about the dispositions and characters of the cardinals, especially since it was clear that at least some of them would be influential in the Council. It was known at the Ballhausplatz and elsewhere that Pius had become embittered against Austria. This fact had found one more expression in the consistory of June 25, 1869, when the Pope had directed threatening words not only against Italy, Russia, and Spain but also against the Hapsburg

[70] A short but penetrating article on him by Franco Valsecchi in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXXIV, 235; cf. also the article in C. v. Wurzbach, *Lexicon des Kaiserstaates Oestterreich;* a few notes on Trautmannsdorff, in J. Kolmer, *Parlament und Verfassung in Oesterreich*, (Wien, 1902), vols. II, III.

[71] Beust, *op. cit.*, II, 181.

Empire.[72] It was at that time that they said in Rome " il n'y a plus de puissances vraiment catholiques." [73]

Several changes had occurred in the College. D'Andrea, the most outspoken representative of the nationalist-liberal trend, had left Rome without permission in 1864. He went to Naples and there compromised himself by personal contact with representatives of the Italian kingdom which had despoiled the Pontifical State, imprisoned bishops, and confiscated the property of convents. The Pope reacted vigorously, even violently, against such a break of discipline by suspending the cardinal. D'Andrea returned to Rome in December, 1867, made a full retraction, and died a few months later.[74]

Among the newly-created cardinals of 1866 the Barnabite, Bilio, Prince Hohenlohe, whose brother became Prime Minister of Bavaria in 1869, and Lucien Bonaparte, the cousin of the French Emperor, might have political importance. The Barnabite, called the most prominent member of the commission for the preparation of the Syllabus, was the one whom Pius indicated as his own successor in the papal see to the Archbishop of Paris, in spite of the hesitant attitude of Bilio on papal infallibility at a decisive moment in the Vatican Council.[75] The patriarch of Venice, Trevisanato, who had received the purple in 1863, has been called by his predecessor in the patriarchate " la perla del clero Veneziano." [76] Several cardinals had taken part in the preparation for the Council, but one could hardly say that the activity of those residing in Rome or in Italy would be decisive either before or after the opening. Among the presidents of the Council were De Angelis and Bilio,

[72] Jacini, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[74] On the D'Andrea scandal cf. Jacini, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff., 235; De Cesare, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff.; Schloezer, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 f., 111; Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[75] De Cesare, *II Conclave*, p. 191; Granderath, *op. cit.*, III, 8 ff.; on Bilio's attitude toward the formulation of papal infallibility, cf. C. Butler, *The Vatican Council* (London, 1930), II, 122-128; also the article on "Syllabus," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 368.

[76] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 142; Teste, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

already mentioned; moreover, another president, Cardinal Capalti, was destined to be outstanding in activity and energy.[77]

As early as December 6, 1864, Pius IX had asked the cardinals who resided in Rome to inform him of their ideas on the convocation of a general council. Only Pentini among the twenty-one had then spoken against its necessity.[78] Amat and Mattei were hesitant. Of those with whom Bach's report was concerned, Patrizi and Panebianco took part in the preparatory commission.[79] When this was amplified and five special commissions formed in the summer of 1867, Bilio was appointed president of the dogmatic commission and Barnabò president of the commission for the Orient and the missions.[80] One year later the commission of ceremonies, with Patrizi, the cardinal-vicar, as president, was added.[81]

When the scheme of the bishops was discussed at the Council in January, 1870, an attempt was made to introduce a special decree concerning the Sacred College. This motion for a reform of the College, although presented by a prominent cardinal, Prince Schwarzenberg, soon failed. In contrast to what had happened in earlier councils, no one in the meetings of 1870 had concrete facts to substantiate charges against the way of life or the activities of the cardinals of Pius IX.[82]

In the summer of 1869 the diplomats still had reason for expecting a conclave within a rather short period, even before the opening of the Council. To discuss its possibilities seemed natural enough since the question of how to influence its issue had been introduced in the secret negotiations for an anti-Prussian triple alliance at that time.[83] Beust asked his ambassador for a report. Trautmannsdorff, in surveying the cardinals, thought that at that moment thirty-two of them were conservative, eight liberal, and

[77] Butler, *op. cit.*, I, 157; Granderath, *op. cit.*, II, 6.

[78] Granderath, *op. cit.*, I, 20 ff., esp. 34 f.

[79] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 257; Granderath, *op. cit.*, I, 22.

[80] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 259; Granderath, *op. cit.*, I, 65 f.

[81] Granderath, *op. cit.*, I, 82.

[82] *Ibid.*, II, 166 ff.

[83] Cf. note 9.

fifteen doubtful. Compared with the numbers Bach had given,[84] the liberal group in the College had diminished. The new report, from Austria's political point of view, was more pessimistic than that of 1861. The ambassador stated in 1869 that the ascendancy of France continued with the cardinals; "she is the only great political power on which they can still place hope."[85] The complaint about the composition of the College also sounded more bitter than Bach's: "There is really no superior man among the cardinals of today and none of the eligibles is really above mediocrity." Trautmannsdorff did not mention that the spirit of Pacca and Mai, at the disappearance of which Bach had lamented, had found an heir when the learned Benedictine, Pitra was created a cardinal in 1863.[86]

The ambassador enumerated the following requirements for the successor of Pius IX. He should not be very young—another pontificate of similar duration was not desired. He should not be taken from among those who had had special difficulties with Italy, but neither should he be elected from those who too clearly had manifested their desire to come to an understanding with the new kingdom. He should not be Roman by birth, as there was general fear of nepotism. In the same, somewhat negative, somewhat pessimistic, attitude, Trautmannsdorff expressed the particular Austrian position: the future pope should not be hostile to the Hapsburg monarchy, he should not be among those known for their intolerant principles, and—expressed in diplomatic language—he should not be "quelqu'un qui se soit compromis de manière à ôter tout espoir de s'entendre avec les gouvernments qui ont marché avec le siècle." An understanding with France and Italy, the two main governments which were in step with the century (Spain might be added to them at that time), was considered necessary by the representative of Austria in 1869. The conceptions prevailing in 1861 had also changed on that question.

On the basis outlined, Trautmannsdorff still thought that Austria should use the privilege of the *exclusive* and debar from election

[84] Cf. note 23.

[85] Report July 11, 1869; B; St. A.

[86] On Pitra, Teste, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff.; Thompson-Holm, *A History of Historical Writing* (New York, 1942), II, 553 f.

thereby the same cardinals whom Bach had indicated: Amat, Grasselini, and Morichini; the two others who had been included in this group in 1861, Altieri and D'Andrea, had died meanwhile. It is significant, as regards the attitude both of Austria and of her ambassador in 1869, that it proved more difficult to make a positive suggestion. Who should be elected pope? Cardinal de Angelis, who had been the choice of Bach, still lived; yet, if we may judge from the way he acted as president of the general congregations at the Vatican Council,[87] he had grown very old. Trautmannsdorff did not concentrate on any single candidate. Without making further distinctions, the ambassador suggested three names as the best candidates, preferable in every way from the Austrian point of view, none of which had been mentioned by Bach in his first category: Asquini, Panebianco, and Trevisanato. Asquini was one of the oldest members of the College. In the conclave of 1878 he was one of the four living cardinals who had been created by Gregory XVI. De Cesare described him as a member of the Austrian party (*Austriacante*), courteous, but filled with scruples in an exaggerated way. He was termed one of the most pious members of the College.[88] The partiality of Panebianco for Austria had already been stressed by Bach, who also had seen great possibilities for the newly-created cardinal in 1861. Nor could there be much doubt where lay the political sympathies of Trevisanato, the patriarch of Venice, who had been made a cardinal three years before Austria lost that city.

[87] In the Vatican Council there were two kinds of full assemblies: the open sessions over which the Pope presided and the so-called general congregations, for which the Pope appointed five cardinal-presidents. The first president had been von Reisach. After his death De Angelis was appointed. Granderath, *op. cit.*, II, 6, 99 f. In the thirty-first general congregation there was a sensational clash with Bishop Strossmayer, an outstanding member of the minority group; Cardinal De Angelis only said a few words; the real discussion was done for the board of presidents by Cardinal Capalti, the fifth president, who had also acted in a similar capacity on December 28 when Cardinal De Luca held the highest rank among the presiding members. Cf. Granderath, *op. cit.*, II, 395 ff, 94 ff. Cf. also the lack of decision of De Angelis, *op. cit.*, III, 11. For an impressive account of Strossmayer's personality cf. Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, (New York, 1941), pp. 106 ff.

[88] De Cesare, *op. cit.*, II, 132; Teste, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 f.

He had been held in special esteem by Francis Joseph for a long time.[89]

It is a significant fact that Austria at that time suggested these three names. Count Trautmannsdorff was right concerning his choices; yet correct and impeccable though his candidates were, they hardly seem to have transcended the limits of mediocrity when considered for the papal see. Nine years later when the time arrived to choose a successor to Pius IX, the three cardinals whom the ambassador had suggested as Austrian candidates were seventy-seven, seventy-six, and seventy years old, respectively. The last of them, Pane-Bianco, together with Bilio and Monaco, received the votes of the intransigents.[90]

Thirteen months after he wrote the first report, Trautmannsdorff discussed the changes of a conclave once more. July 18, 1870, marked the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility. July 18, 1870, was also the day on which the French general left Paris to hand the declaration of war to the Prussian government. And July 18, 1870, was the day the Austrian ambassador wrote his last report from Rome, the capital of the Pontifical State. He left on a vacation the same day, and when he returned to the Eternal City, he found Pius the prisoner of the Vatican.[91]

In the July report,[92] the diplomat was deeply impressed by the course of events in the Council during the last eight months. New trends manifested themselves there which, the ambassador said, would be decisive in the formation of parties at the next conclave. Old points of view which had previously prevailed had now lost their importance. The governments would follow the new tendencies and Austria would no longer judge papal candidates according to their sympathies for the Danubian monarchy or for the Italian

[89] Teste, *op. cit.*, p. 159 f.

[90] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 345; De Cesare, *Il Conclave*, p. 260 f. Cardinal Pecci voted for Bilio according to De Cesare.

[91] Hussarek, *op. cit.*, CXII, 322, n. 191. Odo Russell also left Rome after the proclamation of the dogma. Report VII, 18, 21, (1870), British Foreign Office. September 14, Trautmannsdorff on special order of the Emperor was told to return to his post immediately. St. A.

[92] Report VII, 18, C. St. A.

kingdom. The new trends which had become evident proved that the Church would not rely longer on any government, but exclusively on herself. In order to carry out this conception, he predicted she would centralize her forces—strengthen the papacy and diminish episcopal rights—and it would be according to such ideas and attitudes that the groups would form at the next conclave. The ambassador thought most dangerous political consequences might result if a strong partisan of such conceptions should be elected pope.

France, Trautmannsdorff was convinced, would have the greatest political influence at the conclave. France and Austria had the same interests in this question, for it was important to both of these powers that no relatively young candidate should be elected. Therefore, the election of three candidates in particular must be avoided: Bilio, the Barnabite whom Pius indicated as his successor; Capalti, who had acted very vigorously as president of the Council; and Berardi, who had been the deputy to Antonelli for a long time.[93] Two other cardinals who belonged to the same group were considered less dangerous because they were very old: Patrizi, the dean of the College, and Barnabò, the prefect of Propaganda. Both had been among those whom Bach had recommended. Trautmannsdorff considered two other candidates who did not follow the rigoristic trend unfit for election because of their advanced age, although both of them had been favored in earlier Austrian reports: De Angelis, Bach's real candidate in 1861, and Trevisanato, whom the ambassador himself had put in first place one year before, and whose favorable disposition toward Austria he stressed again in 1870.

He thought that none of the cardinals whom he had mentioned so far would have a chance since he also assumed that the large majority of the Sacred College, of the prelates, and of the clergy in Rome were opposed to the "active and militant" spirit which then dominated in Rome. He thought it probable that the successor of Pius IX would have a reign characterized by a period of transition and pacification, and he suggested five names, only one of which, that of Asquini, who was recommended by Trautmannsdorff as one of three candidates in 1869, had occurred in previous

[93] Teste, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 ff; Jacini, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f.

Austrian reports. The four others were new: Antonucci, "a modest man who likes to do his duty without being known, bearing the purple like a frock, benevolent with the people, strict with the clergy,"[94] and an opponent of Antonelli; Bizzari, learned, pious, who like Capalti, supported the proposed dogma of infallibility at a critical moment when the other presidents of the Council had become hesitant;[95] Corsi, the highly esteemed Archbishop of Pisa;[96] and finally, Vanicelli, the man of a "completely administrative career,"[97] and presumably an opponent of Antonelli.

Trautmannsdorff then drew up another group whose election would mean an outspoken tendency toward, though not a continuation of the policy of the present regime. The name of Pecci, the future Leo XIII, appeared in this less important list for the first time as *papabile* in an Austrian report. As the most probable successful candidate here, the ambassador again considered Panebianco. He mentioned in this group Riario-Sforza, the Archbishop of Naples whom Bach had already recommended, De Luca, once nuncio to Munich and later to Vienna, whom he thought to be favorable to Austria,[98] and Barili, the former nuncio to Madrid, who a year later was considered a liberal candidate.[99] Two cardinals, Morichini and De Silvestri, were said to be favored by France. The ambassador in 1870 found this no reason for Austria to oppose them. The first had been, in 1861 and 1869, among those to be excluded by Austria because of anti-Austrian and liberal antecedents. The second had belonged to the group of six favorable to Cavour's project and was generally considered liberal and nationalistic.[100] Neither had any important part in the Council.

Trautmannsdorff's viewpoint had changed; it was farther removed from that of Bach than it had been in 1869. "If Austria and

[94] Teste, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 166 ff.; Granderath, *op. cit.*, III, 8, 11.

[96] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 112; Granderath, *op. cit.*, II, 73.

[97] Teste, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 161 ff.

[99] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 303, 338.

[100] *Questione*, I, 238 f.; Jacini, *op. cit.*, p. 211 f. De Cesare, *op. cit.*, II, 131 f.

France unite, their influence will be very strong at the Conclave; if they do not, the influence of France may still be felt there very much." For reasons different from those which prevailed in Vienna in 1869-1870, Beust's ambassador in Rome, under the influence of the Vatican Council, thought an alliance of Austria and France necessary. According to the ideas of the Chancellor in Vienna such collaboration should be directed against Berlin and its threatening political hegemony. To Count Trautmannsdorff, the pact with the " man of the second of December " seemed necessary to overcome " the uncompromising spirit " which developed in Rome during the later period of Pius IX. Thus he completely turned away from the conceptions of his two predecessors at the Palazzo di Venezia. But Beust, in July, 1870, had already become skeptical of the strength of the Second Empire.

In this connection those parts of the Austrian diplomatic reports from Rome are relevant which tell of the sympathy that many of the cardinals and the clergy developed for Prussia at the beginning of the war between France and Germany. " They see in King William the personification of legitimacy," stated the next report after Trautmannsdorff had left.[101] After the ambassador returned to Rome, he complained in a private letter to Beust of the ascendancy of the Prussians with the " clerical public " in Rome.[102]

The reports of Bach and Trautmannsdorff are not only significant for the course of events in Austria in the second half of the nineteenth century. Though far, very far, from being exhaustive, they throw a few rays of light on a chapter of Italian history which needs not to be rewritten because it has never been written. The history of the Risorgimento cannot be told in a satisfactory way without describing and discussing the problems and the struggles of the prelates and priests of Italy at the time without the story, in other words, of what may be called the *Kulturkampf* of Sardinia and of Italy.

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[101] VII, 21; written by Palomba, St. A.

[102] XII, 2; St. A.

MISCELLANY

I

Bishop Flaget's Pastoral to the People of Detroit

When the government of New France decided to follow the migrating Miami and Potawatomi Indians south of the Great Lakes and into the Wabash River region, a series of forts and settlements were begun running from Detroit through Fort Miami, Fort Ouiatenon, and Vincennes to the Ohio. When the English, and later the Americans, took over the southern Great Lakes region and Wabash Valley only a few of these settlements remained, although Detroit and Vincennes contained the largest remnants of these French pioneers. Cut off from France, and eventually from Quebec and New Orleans, these settlements did not continue to grow like the French Canadian settlements in Quebec, although Detroit did receive some later Canadian immigration. Quebec continued to care for Detroit ecclesiastically until the American occupation of the Northwest posts in 1796 when Bishop John Carroll transferred there Father Michael Levadoux, S.S., from the Illinois Country. Later Father Gabriel Richard, S.S., (1767-1832) was also sent to Detroit and its neighboring settlements. When the Diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky, was established in 1808, besides his proper diocese of Kentucky and Tennessee, the new bishop, Benedict Joseph Flaget, (1763-1850), was placed in charge of all the American Catholic settlements west of the Alleghenies. Hampered by poverty and the difficulties of travel, Flaget did not reach his diocese until 1810, and was able to reach Vincennes only in 1814; he finally visited his northern mission of Detroit only in the winter of 1818.

During the intervening years the Detroit mission had undergone many vicissitudes. The town itself had been destroyed by fire in 1805 and the settlements had been captured and recaptured during the War of 1812. Americans, particularly fur traders, had begun to move in and a new Detroit was taking shape. During all this time Father Richard had labored zealously and well, not only to care spiritually for his scattered flock but also to improve their material conditions. He helped to found schools, established a press, and favored other enterprises beneficial to the growing town. The religious history of the settlement, however, had been clouded by a schism. After the old village church of St. Anne had been destroyed by the fire of 1805, Richard used for his services a vacant warehouse and other temporary chapels. In the meantime another chapel had been erected

at the Paul Malcher farm on what was called the North East Shore. Richard conducted an occasional service in that chapel for the Catholics in the neighborhood. When the plans for constructing a new St. Anne's within the rebuilt city were under consideration, the parishioners who resided in the neighborhood of the chapel on the North East Shore, refused to accept the plans adopted by Richard. Ultimately the city of Detroit forced action by announcing its intention to plow up the old cemetery before laying the new Jefferson Avenue. To check Richard the people of the North East Shore appealed to Bishop Flaget in Bardstown. At first Flaget acceded to their request that they have a priest and services at their chapel, but when he had been properly informed he backed Father Richard against the troublesome parishioners. Finally Flaget imposed an interdict on the rebellious members on the North East Shore and forced their consent to Richard's plans. Eventually he arranged his affairs in the other portions of his diocese well enough so that he could take the time required to visit the northern missions. Besides accepting the submission of the schismatic parishioners, conducting retreats, and visiting the neighboring missions Flaget attended an Indian peace conference at the Maumee Rapids in 1818, and even made a brief visit to Canada. Then before his final departure from Detroit for Kentucky, he prepared the following pastoral, written probably in May, 1819.

The pastoral contains much valuable information. It indicates the chief settlements of these French Canadians at the time. What is more important, in its various portions, it throws considerable light on the French inhabitants themselves, their customs, their faults, and the problems that faced the pastor of the settlements. From the viewpoint of social and religious history, the passages dealing with the vices of the settlements and the proposed program of daily life are practically without parallel among documents dealing with our western French settlements. The severity of its criticisms were probably stiffened by the sternness of Flaget's Sulpician training, but since he had spent many years in the West, at Vincennes in 1792-1795 and in Kentucky since 1811, he was well aware of the problems of frontier life. The fact that the letter was written for the people of Detroit themselves, adds to the reliability of the information contained in the document.

A few slight changes have been made in spellings and punctuation to bring out the sense more clearly, but otherwise the text is as it was found in Flaget's own hand.

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Lettre pastorale[1] à tous les Catholiques du Détroit et du Territoire Michigan

Benoit Joseph par la grâce de Dieu et l'approbation du S[t] Siège, Evêque de Bardstown à ses coopérateurs et à tous les fidèles salut et bénédiction.

Quelque satisfaction, N.T.C.F.,[2] que nous ayons eue au milieu de vous pendan le cours de toutes les missions que nous vous avons données sans aucun relâche depuis plus de six mois, et quelque[s] soient les fruits spirituels que vous en ayez recueillis par votre empressement à venir écouter la parole de Dieu et à la mettre en pratique; nous croyons que pour rendre ces fruits plus durables il est de toute nécessité: 1° de fixer les lieux principaux où l'on pourra un jour établir une église paroissiale; 2° de faire part à nos chers collaborateurs des avis qui nous paroissent[3] les plus propres à leur assurer du succès dans leur mynistère; 3° d'informer les fidèles de leurs obligations à l'égard des prêtres qui les visiteront; 4° enfin de prescrir [*sic*] quelques règles de conduite pour éviter le péché et pratiquer la vertu.

Des lieux où l'on pourra établir un jour une paroisse.

Convaincus par une longue et triste expérience que les églises auxquelles on n'attache point de terres dans le tems de leur établissement sont toujours pauvres et incapables de subvenir aux besoins du prêtre qui les déssert [*sic*] ou à ceux des écoles de filles ou de garçons, nous statuons que désormais on n'érigera en paroisses que les églises qui seront pourvues de deux cens arpens [de] terres ou de lots ou maisons dont la valeur égaleroit ou surpasseroit celle des deux cens[4] arpens. 1° Après avoir parcouru tout le pays depuis les sources de l'Ouabache et du Miami du

[1] This pastoral letter, together with Flaget's extended version of the first part mentioned by Father Richard, is preserved among the Detroit Papers in the University of Notre Dame Archives referred to hereafter in notes as U.N.D.A. Accounts of the visit of Flaget to Detroit are contained in M. J. Spalding's *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget,* (Louisville, 1852), pp. 177-205, Silas Farmer's *Historical Detroit and Michigan,* (Detroit, 1889), I, 531-532, and George Paré's "History of the Detroit Diocese" in the centennial number of the *Michigan Catholic,* (Dec. 21, 1933), pp. 6ff. The editor is indebted to the archivist of the Burton Historical Collections, Detroit, for assistance in identifying the parish limits mentioned in the document and to Mr. Amedee Dugas for aid in making the French transcription.

[2] *Nos très chers Frères.*

[3] Some old forms of spelling are retained: i. e., *connoitre, paroitre, mynistre, tems, confrairie, pié, oi* in imperfect and conditional endings.

[4] Nouns and adjectives ending in *ent* or *ant* here form the plural by dropping *t* and adding *s*: i. e., *parens, enfans, importans.* There are also some irregularities in capitalization in the original manuscript.

Lac jusqu'au lac S[t] Clair, nous croyons que la petite ville bâtie au pié des Rapides[5] ou ses environs pourroit être un point central, et si jamais l'on y bâtit une église, nous lui donnons le nom de *S[t] Vincent de Paul.* Elle réuniroit un tas de familles catholiques répendues [*sic*] depuis le Fort Wayne jusqu'à 15 ou 18 m[les] de la Rivière aux Raisins. 2º L'Eglise de *S[t] Antoine de Padoue*[6] qui se trouve sur les bords de la Rivière aux Raisins comprendra jusqu'à nouvel ordre tous les établissemens catholiques à cinq ou six lieues à la ronde.

3º Les deux côtés de la Rivière aux Hurons, ainsi que les deux bords de la Rivière aux Ecorses formeront une troisième paroisse dont le centre sera près de la nouvelle ville qui est à s'établir et l'église qu'on y bâtira sera sous l'invocation de *S[te] Marie* [.][7]

4º Les deux rives de la Rivière Rouge jusqu'au pont de Thomas Tremblé feront la quatrième division dont le Détroit[,] où est l'église de S[te] Anne [,][8] fera le centre. Nous formerons un règlement particulier pour l'église de S[t] Joseph de la Côte du N[ord] E[st].

5º Du Pont de Thomas Tremblé jusqu'à la pointe à Guignolet il y aura une cinquième division dont le centre sera à la Grosse Pointe et l'Eglise qui y sera bâtie sera sous l'invocation de S[t] Pierre Apôtre.[9]

6º L'Anse creuse, la Rivière aux Hurons sur le Lac S[t] Clair et la Rivière S[t] Clair formeront provisoirement la sixième division dont l'église de S[t]

[5] No parish was begun in this vicinity for many years, although the region would probably be that included in the northwest corner of the present Diocese of Toledo. The present Perrysburg, Ohio, is located at the site of the Maumee River Rapids and is found on early maps of the vicinity.

[6] The parish of St. Anthony of Padua became in 1845 the present St. Mary's Parish, Monroe, Michigan. Cf. C. Maes. "History of the Catholic Church in Monroe City and County, Michigan," the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, II (April, 1888), 113-152.

[7] No parish was established in this region for some time. Sacred Heart of Dearborn was not founded until 1843 but it seems to be nearest the site selected by Flaget.

[8] This was the later St. Anne Church which was opened for public worship on Dec. 25, 1828. Cf. Farmer, *op. cit.* I, 533-534. The rules for St. Joseph of the Coté du Nord Est are given below.

[9] Rivière du Moulin was the French name for Mill Creek, which formerly entered the river at Wind Mill Point in the present Village of Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan, about a mile beyond the eastern limits of the city of Detroit. Pointe à Guignolet was probably just west of Rivière Guignolet, near the boundary of Wayne and Macomb Counties. However, when a parish was set up in this region it was named St. Paul's and was attended first by Father Francis V. Badin and from 1834 to 1841 by Father Ghislain Boheme. Cf. letter of Father F. V. Badin to Bishop E. Fenwick, from "Pointe à Guignolet, St. Paul's Presbytery", Mar. 8, 1830, U.N.D.A.

François de Sales [10] sur la Rivière aux Hurons sera jusqu'à nouvel arrangement le point central.

[Signed] GABRIEL RICHARD

7º Comme dans la suite des tems il y aura une église entre le Lac Stᵗ Clair et le Lac Huron, alors les habitans de la Rivière Stᵗ Clair seront détachés de la paroisse sur la Rivière aux Hurons et l'Eglise qu'on bâtira sera sous l'invocation de Stᵉ Agnès.[11]

Règlement particulier pour l'Eglise de Stᵗ Joseph de la Côte du N[ord] E[st].[12]

L'Eglise de Stᵗ Joseph de la Côte du N.[ord] E.[st] étant pourvue d'une belle terre, nous l'érigerions avec plaisir en paroisse permanente si elle étoit dans une distance convenable et suffisante pour ne pas nuire notablement à celle de Stᵉ Anne qui mérite des égards particuliers pour avoir été longtems l'unique église de tout le territoire et qui doit être un jour la cathédrale ou la mère de toutes les autres. Voulant néanmoins remplir des promesses que nous avouons franchement avoir été indiscrètes parce qu'elles ont été faites dans un tems où nous n'avions pas toute la connoissance que nous aurions dû avoir ni des lieux ni des habitans dont quelques uns n'agissent pas avec toute la simplicité chrétienne qui seroit à désirer. Nous déclarons: 1º que la Corporation de l'Eglise de Stᵉ Anne ne

[10] This was the name of the first church on the Clinton River which was for a while attended by Father Pierre Dejean. Cf. letter of Richard to Bishop Edward Fenwick, Aug. 17, 1830, U.N.D.A. This may account for the original name of the first Mt. Clemens church. When Father Ghislain Boheme was the missionary to this region, 1833-41, he lived at L'Anse Creuse and seemingly visited the churches of St. Félicité (now St. Gertrude of L'Anse Creuse), St. Francis (now St. Peter's of Mt. Clemens) and St. Félicité (now Holy Cross) of Marine City. Cf. Paré, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The baptismal register of Father Boheme for this period is in the University of Notre Dame Archives. He also took care of St. Paul's—"La côté St. Paul", as he called it, at Grosse Pointe.

[11] The first church in this region seems to have been St. Félicité's at L'Anse Creuse. It was also taken care of by Father Boheme from August, 1833, to 1841. It was built by Father Francis V. Badin in 1830, according to the letter of Richard to Fenwick, Aug. 17, 1830, U.N.D.A

[11a] The following note was written into the original draft by Father Richard at this point in the manuscript: N. B. Monseigneur a refondu ces deux premières pages et les a étendues en trois pages et sept lignes ci-après jointes qu'il a signées, auxquelles il faut s'en tenir.

[12] There are several unpublished documents on this schism in the University of Notre Dame Archives The letter of Bishop Flaget interdicting the schismatic chapel is published in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XIII, 81-90. The Paul Malcher farm was in the township of Hamtramck. The Church Farm, Private Claim 16, lay to the east of Grand Boulevard

pourra jamais taxer les habitans de la Cô du N.E. à moins qu'il n'y ait eu préalablement une assemblée générale de tous les dits habitans qui aient délibérément et librement consenti à ce que telle taxe fut imposée pour tel objet publique bien connu et bien déterminé. 2º L'Eglise de St Joseph jouira non seulement du revenu de sa terre, mais aussi de la vente de ses bancs. 3º Jusqu'à ce que l'Eglise de St Pierre à la Grosse Pointe soit bâtie et pourvue d'une terre de l'étendue ci[-]dessus requise, tous les habitans de la dte Eglise de St Pierre auront la liberté d'enterrer leurs morts ou dans le cimetière de St Joseph ou dans celui de Ste Anne— La même liberté est laissée aux habitans depuis le pont de Thomas Tremblé jusques chez les Mrs Beaubiens exclusivement; mais nous exigeons que tous les services et les messes chantées se célébrent dans l'église de Ste Anne. 4º Enfin un prêtre ira une fois tous les mois, *autant que faire se pourra* désservir [*sic*] la dte église de St Joseph. Nous disons autant que faire se pourra parce que le nombre des prêtres étant très petit et le pays très étendu il arrivera quelque fois que cette obligation ne pourra pas être remplie, et les habitans de ces quartiers en general soupçonneux n'auront rien à dire.

Si les Mrs de la Côte du N.E. ne sont point satisfaits de cet arrangement, s'ils renouvellent leurs plaintes et leurs murmurs, [*sic*] nous déclarerons sur le champ leur église interdite pour toujours afin de terminer à jamais des scandales qui n'ont duré que trop longtems.

Avis aux missionnaires

Mes respectables et bien chers coopérateurs[13] dans le mynistère apostolique m'ont témoigné trop d'amitié et de confiance tout le tems que j'ai été au milieu d'eux pour ne point leur ouvrir mon coeur au moment de mon départ et leur donner les avis que je crois les plus importans pour leur propre sanctification et celle des peuples qui leur sont confiés. La chose que je leur recommende [*sic*] comme très essentielle et même indispensable, c'est l'union la plus intime et la plus affectueuse entre eux: de cette sainte amitié naîtra une unité de principes dans leurs opérations publiques qui leur fera surmonter toutes les difficultés et triompher de tous les obstacles. Il n'y a point de vices dans une paroisse ou dans un pays quelqu' étendu qu'il soit qui ne cèdent à une pratique constante et uniforme pour les décrier et à des efforts réunis pour les déraciner. Si les apôtres convertirent le monde c'est que leur conduite et leurs prédications tendoient toujours au même but.

Quelque grande confiance que j'aie dans les talens respectifs des missionnaires de ces pays-ci, j'en ai encore plus dans leurs fréquentes méditations

[13] Richard's assistants at this time were Fathers Philip Janvier and John Bertrand, who had been sent from Kentucky by Bishop Flaget the previous year. Cf. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 177. They had been loaned to the Bardstown diocese by Bishop William Dubourg of Louisiana. Their later histories have not been written.

sur Jésus et Jésus crucifié. Non pas qu'on ne puisse faire des discours très beaux et très éloquens sans la connoissance et sans l'amour de Jésus; mais sans cet amour et sans l'assistance spéciale de ce divin Sauveur on n'en fera jamais qui brisent les coeurs des pécheurs et qui les convertissent sincèrement. Qu'ils soient des hommes d'oraison, qu'ils s'unissent à J.Ch. tous les jours, s'il est possible, par la célébration des S^ts^ Mystères, alors ils auront la consolation d'être ses fidèles représentans auprès des peuples, ils parleront par sa bouche, aimeront par son coeur, et convertiront par sa force. Ce n'est point sans grande raison que les prêtres sont appelés le sel de la terre et la lumière du monde,[14] car à eux il appartient de donner de solides instructions et surtout de grands exemples de toutes les vertus. Quoique l'armée qu'ils composent soit très petite, s'ils s'entendent entr'eux et s'ils ne cherchent que Jésus et sa gloire ils peuvent être sûrs de produire les fruits les plus abondans de bénédictions et de salut. Celui qui vit conformément à une règle sage vit de la vie de Dieu lui-même qui est l'ordre éternel—*qui regulae vivit Deo vivit*. Il est donc pour eux de la dernière importance de se former une règle pour les principaux points de la journée, pour le lever et le coucher, l'oraison, les repas et de faire tous leurs efforts pour s'y rendre fidèles. Je désire ardemment qu'ils disposent leur tems de manière à visiter tous les deux mois les différentes stations de cette grande paroisse, et obtenir des peuples par prières et quelqu[e] fois par menaces que ceux qui ont fait leur première communion viennent à confesse et s'approchent de la S^te^ Table s'ils en sont trouvés dignes. Cela gagné, ils formeront des saints et recevront même dans ce monde une partie de la récompense destinée à leurs travaux.

M^r^ G. Richard par son âge, ses talens et son ancienneté dans le pays est de droit le supérieur de la mission. C'est en père qu'il commendera [*sic*] et je suis bien persuadé que M^rs^ Janvier et Bertrand se feront un devoir et regarderont comme un très grand bonheur de lui obéir en enfans soumis et dociles. Conformément au droit divin, naturel et ecclésiastique qui détermine que le prêtre qui travaille au service de l'autel vive décemment de l'autel, nous réglerons ensemble la manière dont les missionnaires seront pourvus *quoad victum et vestitum*. Nous prévoyons bien qu'ils participeront tous à la pauvreté de J. Ch. et nous avons la confience [*sic*] qu'ils s'en feront une gloire et un bonheur. Je finis en recommendant [*sic*] à tous un zèle effectif pour la propreté des églises, des linges et des ornemens de l'autel. Il n'y a point d'efforts qu'ils ne doivent faire pour former des enfans aux chants et aux cérémonies du service divin; car c'est principalement par ces dehors que l'on attire les peuples à l'église et qu'on a l'occasion de les instruire et souvent de les convertir.

Des devoirs des peuples envers leurs pasteurs

Si les Ecclésiastiques sont obligés d'édifier, d'instruire et de visiter souvent les fidèles confiés à leur zèle, les fidèles ont aussi des devoirs essentiels

[14] Matthew V. 13-14.

à remplir à l'égard de leurs pères spirituels. Ils leur doivent l'honneur et le respect. En effet les prêtres sont appelés les ambassadeurs de Dieu auprès des peuples, les Anges de la terre, les représentans de J. Ch.; ils continuent à prêcher sa doctrine à administrer ses sacremens, ils doivent retracer ses vertus et ses exemples, il est donc juste que les fidèles les honorent de la même manière qu'ils honoreroient J. Ch. s'il vivoit et prêchoit encore parmi eux sur la terre.

Ecouter la voix de leur pasteur[,] se conformer à ses avis particuliers[,] et montrer la plus grande soumission pour ses règlemens généraux est un devoir pour les fidèles non moins essentiel que le premier suivant ces paroles de S[t] Paul *obedite prepositis vestris*,[15] obéissez à vos supérieurs. C'est au nom de l'église que les prêtres agissent et qu'ils commandent, ou plutôt au nom de J. Ch. lui même qui en est le chef. Leur désobéir c'est donc désobéir à ce divin Sauveur. Les fidèles cesseroient d'être des enfans selon le coeur de Dieu s'ils résistoient malicieusement aux ordres de leur pasteur qu'ils honorent du doux nom de père et auquel ils doivent en cette qualité la soumission et l'obéissance la plus parfaite.

Enfin comme les missionnaires sacrifient tous les avantages temporels pour se consacrer au salut des âmes et que ceux qui sont ici ont renoncé à leurs parens à leurs amis et au plus beau pays du monde pour venir leur annoncer l'évangile il est de toute justice que les peuples qui leur sont confiés les dédomagent [*sic*] de ces grands sacrifices en leur fournissant un honnête entretien, et les mettant sur un pié de décence qui les fasse estimer du publique et les mette en état de soulager les pauvres.

Avis spirituel

Si vous voulez jouir de la paix dans vos âmes évitez le mal et pratiquez le bien[.] *Declinate a malo et facite bonum et invenietur requiem animabus vestris*[.][16] C'est à tous les hommes que l'Esprit S[t] adresse cet avis: c'est donc un devoir pour tous les hommes d'éviter le péché celui surtout qui donne la mort à nos âmes comme le seul et unique mal qu'il ait sur la terre qui puisse troubler la paix de nos consciences et nous séparer de notre Dieu. En effet les maladies, les privations, les pertes de procès[,] les renversemens de fortunes, les calomnies, les persécutions, les insultes, les outrages, la mort des amis et des parens les plus chers ne sont pas à proprement parler des maux puis que ces événements tout pénibles qu'ils sont peuvent tous contribuer à nous faire faire pénitence, à nous détacher des choses de la terre, à faire de nous des S[ts] en nous rendant semblables à J. Ch. Ce ne sont donc point ces maux que nous vous exhortons d'éviter, ils sont inséparables de la vie. Tout ce que vous avez à faire c'est de les accepter avec humilité et de les supporter courageusement et avec patience. Le péché[,] ce monstre infernal[,] est le seul ennemi dangereux pour vous,

[15] Hebrews XIII, 17.

[16] Apparently a reference to Jeremias VI, 16.

le seul contre lequel vous deviez sans cesse combatre [*sic*] afin qu'il ne devienne point le maître de votre coeur. Parmi les péchés les plus communs que nous avons remarqués dans nos missions, nous croyons que *l'impatience*[,] *la colère, les imprécations, les juremens* avec le *S^t nom de Dieu* sont extrêmement répendus [*sic*] dans presque toutes les familles. Que les pères et mères en donnent malheureusement de funestes exemples à leurs enfans[,] et que ces enfans saisissent ces exemples des l'âge le plus tendre, y font des progrès effrayans, et que souvent avant l'âge même de raison ils parlent ce langage de l'enfer tout aussi bien et peut[-]être mieux que leur père et leur mère.

Que de malédictions ne doit pas attirer sur les familles une si abominable conduite? Avec quel zèle les prêtres ne doivent[-]ils pas s'élever contre de semblables désordres? *Apprenez de moi*[,] dit J. Ch.[,][17] *que je suis doux* et humble de coeur.—*Le blasphémateur et celui qui prendra mon nom en vain sera mis à mort.*[18]

Un péché non moins horrible et très répendu [*sic*] dans tout l'univers c'est celui que S^t Paul n'osoit pas nommer parmi les fidèles de son tems parce qu'ils étoient des Saints; mais de nos jours la corruption a fait de tel progrès dans tous les âges et dans toutes les conditions que nous pouvons l'appeler par son nom sans crainte de scandaliser—C'est *l'impureté* que nous avons en vue. Nous ne finirions point si nous voulions sonder cet abyme sans fond. Prêtres du Seigneur[,] vous qui êtes appelés par la chasteté que vous professés [*sic*] les Anges de la terre, élevez-vous avec la pureté et le zèle des Anges contre ce vice abominable — Apprenez aux parens à être pûrs [*sic*] et chastes dans leurs propos et dans toute leur conduite soit la nuit soit le jour—C'est surtout aux jeunes personnes des deux sexes qu'il faut défendre la familiarité, les libertés, les attouchemens, les paroles, les regards mêmes qui pourroient tant soit peu ternir l'éclat de leur pureté. Défendez à cette jeunesse la recherche des habits, les vaines parures qui souvent les induisent dans des dépenses au[-]dessus de leurs moyens et les exposent à bien des dangers, quelquefois à des crimes. Recommendez [*sic*] aux parens de veiller sur leurs enfans des l'âge le plus tendre; de trembler lorsqu'ils les voient se cacher, chercher les ténèbres deux à deux ou plusieurs ensemble; car c'est presque toujours pour se livrer à des actions immodestes. Ordonnez aux parens d'une manière toute spéciale et avec toute l'authorité attaché à votre mynistère de séparer la nuit les filles des garçons parce que les plus malheureux effets résultent de ce mélange.

L'ivrognerie[,] ce vice si humiliant qui ravale l'homme au-dessous même des brutes[,] commence à faire des progrès parmi les Canadiens si re-

[17] Matthew XI, 29.

[18] Apparently Leviticus XXIV, 16.

nommés autrefois pour leur tempérance et leur sobriété. Ce n'est pas seulement parmi les personnes avancées en âge qu'on trouve aujourd'hui des ivrognes, les jeunes gens marchent sur les traces de ces êtres méprisables, ils fréquentent les *Cantines* y boivent avec excès et vont ensuite honteusement trainer leurs scandales dans les rues, cela même le Dimanche qui devroit être entièrement conservé au service du Seig^{r} et au salut de leur âme. Des femmes mêmes et jusqu'à des enfans, comme nous en avons été malheureusement les témoins[,] se livrent quelquesfois avec excès. Mynistres de Dieu menacés de tels pécheurs[,] de toute la colère du ciel et de la chair [*sic*] de vérité faites retentir jusqu'au fond de leurs coeurs ces paroles affrayantes de S^{t} Paul que *ni les adultères ni les fornicateurs, ni les impudiques quelqu'ils soient, ni les ivrognes n'entreront jamais dans le royaume des Cieux.*[19]

Ce n'est pas tout d'éviter le péché[,] il ne faut point s'exposer aux occasions qui en sont prochaines. Fuyez, dit l'Esprit S^{t}[,][20] l'apparence du péché comme vous fairiez [*sic*] à la vue d'un serpent—celui qui s'expose au danger y périra infaliblement [*sic*]; ou parmi ces occasions innombrables celles qui sont les plus dangereuses et les plus communes dans ces pays-ci sont. 1^{o} les *bals*. Rien de si contraire à l'esprit de l'évangile et aux exemples de J. Ch. que ces assemblées bruyantes et mondaines. Tous les pères de l'Eglise tous les conciles ont regardé les danses[21] comme la source la plus féconde de péchés. Dans tous les tems ils les ont réprouvées et condamnées comme dirigées par le Démon. Presque tous les commendemens[*sic*] et de Dieu et de l'église sont violés par ces bals; la plupart des Sacremens y sont prophanés [*sic*]; tous les péchés capitaux s'y commettent—on pèche avant le bal, on pèche pendant que le bal a lieu et souvent on pèche encore d'avantage après que le bal est fini. Il est impossible que ceux qui aiment les bals puissent avoir l'esprit de recueillem^{t} et de prière, et qu'ils puissent goûter les exercices graves et sérieux de notre S^{te} religion.

L'amour des *bals* n'introduiroit-il dans le coeur de la jeunesse qu'un grand amour pour le luxe et la parure (où tout le monde est forcé de convenir que c'est dans les bals que la jeunesse étale plus de parure et de luxe) ce

[19] An adaptation of Ephesians V, 5.

[20] Ecclesiasticus XXI, 2.

[21] The severity of his condemnation of dances is in part explained by the excesses that are known to have taken place in frontier places on such occasions and partly by the traditional disapprobation of the Church of dances as a form of social entertainment. Flaget was speaking in 1819 when the attitude of the Church in this country was very severe. However, in 1795, Bishop Carroll warned Father Jean Rivet at Vincennes not to be too severe on the question, lest he drive the French people of the settlement out of the Church. Cf. Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834*, (New York, 1940), p. 89.

seroit un désordre que les loix [*sic*] civiles mêmes devroient défendre. Mais quand on pense que l'amour des bals est toujours suivi de dépenses au-dessus des moyens de ceux qui les font; d'une perte de tems considérable qui peu à peu engendre la paresse; on ne doit plus être étonné si en générale on voit si peu de j^nes^ [jeunes] Canadiens établis d'une manière avantageuse. Tout le monde sait avec quelle force nous avons défendus ces misérables divertissemens; quelles peines nous avons portées contre les joueurs d'instrumens et ceux celles qui prêtent leur maisons pour de pareilles assemblées. Nous espérons, avec la grâce de Dieu, que nos chers coopérateurs entreront dans les mêmes sentimens et qu'ils tendront la main à l'exécution de nos décrets.

2º Les veillées[22] surtout telles qu'elles se passent dans ces pays-ci où plusieurs personnes de différent sexe se rassemblent, non pas pour se livrer à aucun ouvrage utile, mais bien pour passer la plus grande partie de la nuit presque dans les ténèbres, employées à des conversations vaines, inutiles[,] souvent accompagnées de péché, et presque toujours terminées par des jeux indécens beaucoup plus criminels que les bals les plus désordonnés.

Que les pères et mères qui encouragent ou tolèrent de pareils désordres sont coupables à l'égard de Dieu et de toute cette jeunesse. Quel compte terrible n'auront-ils pas à en rendre au Tribunal de Dieu. Les Missionnaires eux[-]mêmes participeroient à leur péché si par leur zèle, leurs prières, leurs jeûnes et leurs mortifications ils ne fesoient [*sic*] pas tous leurs efforts pour déraciner ces abus et ces désordres.

En évitant le péché et les occasions prochaines du péché on fait une chose très agréable à Dieu; mais ce n'est que par la pratique du bien qu'on se rend semblable à J. Ch. et qu'on gagne le ciel. Voici le règlement de vie que nous prescrivons à tous les fidèles de cette partie de notre diocèse.

Ils se lèveront tous les jours de bon matin selon les saisons de l'année en élevant leur coeur à Dieu et faisant sur leur front le signe de la croix. Etant habillés modestement, ils prendront de l'eau bénite feront leur prière à genoux avec *respect*[,] *attention et dévotion.* Se tenant en esprit au pié de la croix de J. Ch., ou devant un tombeau ouvert plein d'ossemens de morts. Les pères et les mères y prieront non seulement pour leurs propres besoins, mais pour ceux de leurs enfans, de leurs ennemis etc., et ils uniront leur prière par un *Pater* et un *Ave* qui suppléera à l'Angélus et pendant ce *Pater* et cet *Ave* ils demanderont à Dieu spécialmt la patience jusqu'au diné [*sic*]. Après quoi ils iront à leurs travaux respectifs; mais avant de les commencer ils feront le signe de la croix, les offriront à Dieu et lui demanderont la douceur et la patience. Pendant leur travail ils pourront

[22] *Les veillées* were the habitants' answer for the long evenings in which the entertainments of today were almost entirely wanting.

s'arrêter de tems en tems pour faire un acte de contrition, de foi,[23] etc., etc. Nous recommendons [*sic*] aux filles et aux femmes, d'une manière spéciale, d'être très propres dans leur ménage et de ne jamais faire attendre ceux qui travaillent dans les champs pour leurs repas. Lorsqu'il se mettront à table ils béniront Dieu et se béniront eux[-]mêmes par le signe de la croix avant et après le repas pour marquer leur reconnoissance. Avant ou après le diné [*sic*] ils diront encore un *Pater* et un *Ave* pour demander à Dieu les mêmes vertus que le matin. Ils suivront les mêmes règles que le matin pendant les travaux du soir, et après le soupé ils feront la prière en commun (Nous supplions les Missionnaires d'introduire cette louable et S^te^ pratique dans toutes les familles autant que faire se pourra) qui'ils finiront par l'examen de conscience et un acte de Contrition.

L'abstinence du vendredi et du samedi [24] est une loi générale de l'Eglise dont J. Ch. est le chef invisible, par conséquent en obéissant à l'eglise on obéit à J. Ch. et en méprisant ses loix [*sic*] c'est J. Ch. lui[-]même qu'on méprise. Les Missionnaires manqueroient à un devoir essentiel s'ils négligeoient de faire observer l'abstinence en ces jours. La *paresse* tout autant que la gourmandise sont les seules causes que ces loix [*sic*] sont trangressées il est de toute nécessité de s'élever avec zèle contre ces deux vices.

Dieu dès le commencement a commandé la sanctification du Septième jour en mémoire du repos qu'il parut prendre après avoir été six jours à créer le monde. L'église dirigée par l'esprit S^t^ [a dé]terminé le Dimanche pour être sanctifié, et ordonne à tous les fidèles d'assister à la messe de paroisse et d'entendre les instructions qu'on y fait. Il faut de fortes raisons pour être dispensé de cette obligation; cependant comme les prêtres sont encore en petit nombre dans le territoire il est évident que plusieurs sont dispensés d'entendre la messe et l'instruction, mais ils ne sont point dispensés de prier chez eux à peu près le même tems qu'ils feroient à l'église pendant le service divin qui ne dure pas moins d'une heure et demie ou deux heures; il est donc essentiel que chez eux, dans différens tems de la journée ils prient environ deux heures. Ceux qui savent lire ne trouveront pas cette tâche ni longue ni difficile; mais il n'en est pas de même de ceux qui ne savent que quelques prières vocales. Nous avons exigé que ces personnes diroient au moins trois chapelets.[25] L'un avant ou après le déjeuner, l'autre vers les 11^hres^ ou le tems de la messe, le troisième le soir.

[23] In connection with the great numbers of prayers prescribed by the bishop, it should be noted that Judge John Cleves Symmes got into difficulties with the French about Detroit when he told them that they prayed too much. Cf. Jacob Burnet's *Notes on the North-Western Territory*, (Cincinnati, 1847), footnote, pp. 281-284.

[24] The general law of the Church at this time called for abstinence on Saturday as well as on Friday.

[25] This would mean the fifteen decades of the Rosary.

Nous conjurons les missionnaires de bien expliquer les mystères du Rosaire à leurs paroissiens afin qu'ils disent cette prière avec plus de goût et plus de fruit.

Comme nous espérons que les missionaires verront successivemt tous leurs paroissiens à peu près tous les deux mois, nous conjurons ceux qui ont fait leur première Communon de laisser pour un tems leurs travaux et leurs affaires temporelles pour avoir le bonheur de se confesser et communier si leur confesseur leur en donne la permission.[26] Nous insistons d'un manière toute particulière sur [la] confession et la communion fréquentes comme le moyen le plus efficace pour opérer son salut. *Celui qui mange ma chaire* [*sic*] *et boit mon sang,* dit J. Ch., *demeure en moi et je demeure en lui.*[27] Nous désirons ardemment qu'on établisse partout où il y a une église les confrairies du St Sacrement et du Rosaire. Ces deux confrairies bien entendues et bien suivies sont des sources intarissables de grâces.

Tels sont, N.T.ch.F., les avis que nous vous donnons en nous séparant de vous; peut[-]être auroient[-]ils été en un ordre plus clair et plus détaillé, si nos occupations nous en eussent donné le tems; mais vous savez comment nous avons été employés parmi vous et combien nous avons eu peu de loisir pour méditer et pour écrire. Quoiqu'il en soit si vous êtes fidèles à ce règlement tout abrégé qu'il est; si vous évitez ces péchés dont nous vous avons parlé et les occasions qui y conduisent, nous espérons, avec la grâce de Dieu, que vous jouirez dans ce monde d'une grande paix au milieu des peines et des croix que Dieu vous enverra et qu'enfin vous obtiendrez après votre mort la couronne de gloire due aux fidèles serviteurs. C'est ce que nous vous souhaitons du meilleur de notre coeur.

[Signed] Benoit Jh Evêqe de Bardstown

[26] This requirement for permission of the confessor shows, perhaps, a slight trace of Jansenistic influence, noticeable among some of the early missionaries. However, Flaget does urge frequent Communion.

[27] John VI.

II

Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, New York City, December 29-30, 1943

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association was held at Barnard College, New York City, December 29-30, 1943. The attendance, while not as large as former years, was good considering the handicaps involved in wartime travel. One of the most gratifying features of the meeting was the lively discussion which followed the reading of the papers at both the general sessions. It is the hope of the Editors of the Review that several of these papers may be published in future issues of our journal. The morning session on December 29 was devoted to the general theme of "Trusteeism in the American Church." Two papers were read on this subject, one treating trusteeism in the Old Northwest by the Reverend Alfred G. Stritch of St. Gregory Seminary and Our Lady of Cincinnati College and trusteeism in the eastern states by the Reverend Robert F. McNamara of St. Bernard's Seminary. The discussion leaders were the Reverend Michael J. Curley, C.SS.R., of Mount Saint Alphonsus Seminary, Esopus, and the Reverend Robert Gorman of St. Mary-of-the-Woods College. The chairman was Thomas F. O'Connor, recently appointed historiographer of the Archdiocese of New York. The Executive Council held its regular meeting at a luncheon on December 29, and at four that afternoon the business meeting was held with the First Vice-President, Paul Kiniery, in the chair. The reports of the officers and committee chairman, printed in this issue of the Review, were given after which the presidential address of Richard Pattee was delivered. This address has already been published in the January number of the Review. On Thursday, December 30, the Association held its customary joint session with the American Historical Association on the subject of "The Church in Post-Napoleonic France," when the sole paper was that read by Professor A. Paul Levack of Fordham University. Discussion leaders were the Reverend Edward V. Cardinal of Loyola University, Chicago, and Professor Geoffrey Bruun of Sarah Lawrence College. The chairman at this meeting was the Reverend William J. Schlaerth, S.J., of Canisius College.

Report of the Treasurer:

Financial Statement from December 31, 1942 to December 15, 1943

ACCOUNT I. GENERAL FUND

INVESTMENTS	December 31, 1942		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND	December 31, 1942	$1,131.69	

RECEIPTS:			
Annual dues		3,091.93	
Interest from investments		165.00	
Donation		1.50	
Contributions to New York Meeting, May 8, 1943...		13.00	
Total Receipts		$4,403.12	$5,500.00
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Office Expenses:			
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 80.50		
Supplies and service	115.60		
Secretary—salary	710.63		
Bookkeeper—salary	120.00		
	1,026.73		
Expense of New York Meeting, May 8, 1943	13.83		
Expense of Washington Meeting, January 16, 1943	5.21		
Catholic Historical Review	1,575.00		
Rent of safety deposit box	6.00		
Exchange on Canadian checks	2.63		
Total disbursements		$2,629.40	
CASH ON HAND DECEMBER 15, 1943		1,773.72	
INVESTMENTS DECEMBER 15, 1943			$5,500.00

ACCOUNT II. REVOLVING FUND

Publication of Documents

CASH ON HAND DECEMBER 31, 1942		$127.66
RECEIPTS:		
United States Ministers to the Papal States		37.00
Total receipts		164.66
DISBURSEMENTS:		
J. H. Furst & Company for binding copies of *United States Ministers to the Papal States*		28.15
CASH ON HAND DECEMBER 15, 1943		$136.51

SUMMARY

INVESTMENTS, ACCOUNT I		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND:		
Account I	$1,773.72	
Account II	136.51	
TOTAL CASH BALANCE	$1,910.23	
GRAND TOTAL		$7,410.23

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS:

Your committee is pleased to announce that Volume II of the Association's *Documents* is in final form for publication and that funds have been provided for its printing. This volume, as will be remembered, will present the account of the consular relations between the United States and the Papal States. The book, which will approximate 500 pages, is in two parts: first will be printed the instructions and despatches of the United States consuls to Rome, Ancona, and other posts in the States of the Church, from 1796 to 1870; the second part will contain correspondence of the papal consuls in the United States with the Department of State. There were four consuls-general and several consuls located at New York, Philadelphia, Trenton, Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, Savannah, New Orleans, and Cincinnati. The work of editing this material was done by your chairman who compiled and edited the first volume of the series: *United States Ministers to the Papal States* (Washington, 1933).

The question of funds for publishing this second volume has long been our chief problem. The Association will be gratified to learn that this problem has been settled through the generosity of the Bishop's Committee on the Pope's Peace Points, whose members, Archbishop Stritch of Chicago, chairman, Bishops Ryan of Omaha and Muench of Fargo, considered this project as presented by Monsignor Ready of our Committee on Publications, worthy of a sufficient appropriation for its printing. An appropriate resolution of appreciation and thanks for this action will be passed by the Association and sent to the members of the Bishops' Committee. Bids are now being received for the work of printing and binding, so that within a few weeks the volume will be in press. It is not necessary to say how important and timely will be the presentation in these two volumes of documents of the account of the diplomatic relations between our country and the Vatican. The first volume has been widely used by scholars, writers, and public officials; the second volume will certainly be equally welcomed by these same groups. It is to be hoped that the members of the Association, our colleges, and institutions will show by their subscriptions to the volumes their interest in this commendable achievement of our Association.

Your committee has no plans at this time for further volumes; nor is it likely that anything will be proposed during the present emergency.

A report on the *Catholic Historical Review*, the only other publication of the Association for the year, will be included in the statement made by its Managing Editor and the Secretary of the Association, Dr. Ellis.

In addition to the Bishops' Committee, your committee is grateful for aid and assistance in the preparation of Volume II of our *Documents* given by Dr. Buck, the National Archivist, and by several members of his staff, in particular to Mrs. Natalie Summers. Other acknowledgments will be made in the preface to the volume.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO FRANCIS STOCK, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS:

The Committee on Nominations submits the following report on the officers and committee personnel for 1944:

President—Paul Kiniery, Loyola University, Chicago.

First Vice-President—Eugene H. Byrne, Barnard College, Columbia University.

Second Vice-President—Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., Catholic University of America.

Secretary—John Tracy Ellis, Catholic University of America.

Treasurer—John K. Cartwright, Washington, D. C.

Executive Council (For three-year term):

Benjamin J. Blied, St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee.
Harry C. Koenig, St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein.

(For unexpired term of Raymond Corrigan, S.J.):
W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., *America*.

Committee on Publications:

Leo F. Stock, Carnegie Institution of Washington, chairman.
Michael J. Ready, National Catholic Welfare Conference.
James P. Gibbons, C.S.C., St. Edward's University, Austin.

Committee on Program:

George F. Donovan, Webster College, chairman.
Elizabeth M. Lynskey, Hunter College.
Clarence J. Ryan, S.J., Marquette University.

Committee on Nominations:

William H. J. Kennedy, Boston Teachers College, chairman.
William J. Gauche, Mount Saint Mary of the West Seminary.
Robert J. Welch, St. Ambrose College.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MENG, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY:

Fortunately this year we have been able to hold more than a token meeting for our annual Christmas week gathering. True, the grim specter of war still casts its shadow over the world and continues to render the business of organizations such as our own difficult and trying. While those who planned this meeting in New York realized that the transportation problem, scarcity of proper hotel accommodations, and the various educational programs for service men in progress on most of our campuses through the holidays, would prevent our members at a distance from joining us during these two days, yet it was felt proper to proceed. By such

an abbreviated meeting as this our ordinary business can be transacted and we can maintain the continuity of our official existence which will reach the quarter century mark a year from this time.

The Reports of the Treasurer and of the Chairman of the Committee on Publications to which you have just listened, give us reason for genuine satisfaction. Not only have we held our own in a financial way during the past year, but we have today a cash balance in the treasury of nearly $650 more than at this time a year ago. Again, through the generosity of Archbishop Stritch and his Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points, the Association has been made the beneficiary of a sum of money sufficient to assure the publication of our second volume of *Documents* within the next few months. Bids have been let for the contract for the printing and before this report is itself in print in the April issue of the REVIEW, the Association's second major venture in publication of source materials on the history of the Church will, we hope, be well along the road to completion.

During these two days we have had the profit and pleasure of listening to three major papers on phases of the history of the Church both here and in Europe. It is appropriate that this wide range of subject matter should find place in a meeting of this kind, for the historic problems of the Church in every part of the world are of vital concern to the Catholic historian. Fathers McNamara and Stritch have given us solid contributions to the understanding of a phenomenon in the history of the American Church which was uncomfortably present to the men of a century ago. Trusteeism was but one manifestation of what we may properly call the "growing pains" suffered by the young Church in the raw republic of the United States. Professor Levack will show us tomorrow a simultaneous strain through which the Church passed in France, where the obstacle to sound growth was not boards of lay trustees but hampering governments still conscious of their heritage from the age of the Revolution. Mr. Pattee, who by years of residence and travel in the republics to the south of us combined with sound historical training, is peculiarly fitted for this task, has, I am sure you will agree, given us real enlightenment on the revisions necessary in the writing and teaching of the history of Latin America. To all these men who have taken the effort and time to prepare their papers and thus to enrich our knowledge, I wish to express our sincere thanks. To them, to the discussion leaders, and to the chairmen of the sessions we owe gratitude for affording us the opportunity for the profitable sessions of these two days.

The news on the *Catholic Historical Review*, official organ of the Association, is good. In addition to the 690 members of the Association to

whom the REVIEW goes, the number of subscribers alone has increased from the 276 reported to you at the meeting on January 16, 1943, to the present figure of 299, a gain of twenty-three. We have likewise increased the number of exchanges with Latin American publications by five since our last meeting, although the exchanges with European journals are, of course, still held up by the war. Consequently, the total number of copies of the REVIEW sent out each quarter is now 1104, an increase of seventy-four in the total figure reported to you in the last annual accounting of the Secretary. Of the fifteen articles and contributions to the miscellany section of the REVIEW published during the last calendar year, only three were papers read, or intended to be read, at annual meetings. This speaks well for the independent contributions submitted apart from papers read at the annual meetings. However, I should not wish to give you the idea that the number and quality of articles submitted is yet all that the Editors might wish. While they have been able to keep the articles on what we believe to have been a high scholarly level during the past year, there is still a great deal of room for contributions of a scholarly character from our members on one or the other of the manifold phases of church history. The Editors would wish, therefore, to repeat their strong exhortation, expressed through the Secretary's report of last year, to the effect that members be urged to write articles of a serious, scholarly nature for prospective publication in the REVIEW.

On the subject of membership in the Association, the substance of the report to be made is an encouraging one. During the time from January 15, 1943, up to December 15 of this year the Association received eighty-four new annual members. This represents a gain of twenty-two over the total of new members of last year and is, therefore, definitely encouraging. These new members more than made up for the loss through death, resignation, or delinquency in dues of old members so that the Secretary can report a total gain in membership of fifty-three over last year. The number of reported deaths is less than half of last year and the resignations number only two-thirds of the 1942 figure. The delinquencies, of course, are still with us and, like the poor, I presume they always will be. But all things considered, it is not a flight of fancy to say that the perennial problem of membership with our Association is not a serious one. While we will all agree that from a body of some twenty-three million Catholics in the United States to find only about 700 who have sufficient interest to support an organization such as ours, gives no reason for boasting, yet when compared with the figures of other historical societies, our showing is good. To enable you to have the figures for study, I shall set down the following:

Total membership on January 15, 1943		637
Resignations	12	
Deaths	9	
Delinquents	10	
		31
Total		606
New members, January 15, 1943-December 15, 1943		84
Total membership, December 15, 1943		690

The new ANNUAL MEMBERS are: Aaron I. Abell, Nazareth College, Rochester, New York; Sister M. Adele, 1554 Eighth Street, N.W., Washington 1, D. C.; Sister Mary Aquinata, 260 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York; Sister M. Augustilde, Mallinkrodt Convent, Mendham, New Jersey; Reverend Ronald A. Beaton, C.P., 159 Washington Street, Brighton 35, Massachusetts; Edwin A. Beilharz, University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California; Most Reverend Leo Binz, 275 Harriet Street, Winona, Minnesota; Samuel J. Boldrick, 151 S. Fifth Street, Louisville, Kentucky; Sister M. Bernetta Brislen, St. Ambrose School, Ironwood, Michigan; Reverend Vincent J. Burke, C.S.B., St. Thomas High School, Houston 7, Texas; Reverend John Canova, 1409 Pennsylvania Avenue, Monaca, Pennsylvania; Reverend Henry W. Casper, S.J., 3303 Tenth Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.; Reverend Thomas F. Coakley, 6202 Alder Street, Pittsburgh 6, Pennsylvania; Clarence J. Coleman, 415 National Bank Building, Everett, Washington; John Hutchinson Cook, 383 W. State Street, Trenton 8, New Jersey; Reverend Charles A. Costello, 513 W. Main Street, Titusville, Pennsylvania; Reverend William L. Davis, S.J., Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington; Reverend Thomas Dennehy, 450 E. 78th Street, Chicago 19, Illinois; Reverend Anthony H. Deye, St. Anne Convent, Melbourne, Kentucky; Very Reverend Director, Don Bosco College, Newton, New Jersey; Reverend E. A. Dubois, La Salette Seminary, Enfield, New Hampshire; John S. Duhon, 180 Weber Street, Bridgeport 8, Connecticut; Reverend Edward J. Duncan, St. John's Catholic Chapel, Champaign, Illinois; Reverend Edward C. Dunn, 479 N. West Street, Lima, Ohio; Reverend Edward J. Dworaczyk, Panna Maria, Texas; Joseph G. Dwyer, 30 Pleasant Avenue, Bronxville, New York; J. William Eckenrode, Willis Street, Westminster, Maryland; Sister M. Eugene, O.P., 7214 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana; Reverend George B. Flahiff, C.S.B., St. Michael's College, Toronto, Canada; William J. Fletcher, St. Mary's Seminary, Roland Park, Baltimore, Maryland; Right Reverend Thomas F. Friel, 7811 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; Reverend Francis X. Glimm, Immaculate Conception Seminary, Huntington, L. I., New York; Reverend Raymond J. Gray, S.J., Xavier University, Cincinnati,

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Streets, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.; Reverend Lawrence F. Schott, Catholic High School, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Carl Selmer, Hunter College, Lexington Avenue and 68th Street, New York City; Very Reverend Lawrence J. Shehan, 619 Tenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.; Sister M. Benignus Sheridan, Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas; Don Luigi Sturzo, St. Vincent's Hospital, Jacksonville, Florida; Reverend Joseph Swastek, SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary, Orchard Lake, Michigan; Sister M. Symphoria, P.H.J.C., Convent Ancilla Domini, Donaldson, Indiana; Reverend Vincent S. Waters, 316 E. Marshall Street, Richmond, Virginia; Very Reverend Joseph J. Wehrle, Dean, Gannon School of Arts and Science, 109 W. Sixth Street, Erie, Pennsylvania; Reverend Robert J. Welsh, St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa; Reverend Roderick Wheeler, O.F.M., Holy Name College, 16th and Shepherd Streets, N.W., Washington 17, D. C.

It is my sad duty to record for you the deaths of nine loyal members during the past year and to ask for them a remembrance in your prayers:

Reverend Raymond Corrigan, S.J.
Very Reverend John F. Fenlon, S.S.
Sister Margaret Mary Feudge
David E. Fitzgerald
Reverend Dennis D. Lane, C.M.
John K. Loughlin
John H. McKenna
Reverend Thomas Oestreich, O.S.B.
Reverend T. Lawrason Riggs

May their souls rest in peace!

I am happy to be able to announce to you the time and place of the next annual meeting. Our silver jubilee will be celebrated in connection with the meeting scheduled for Chicago during Christmas week of 1944. Please God, by that time the guns will have been silenced and the normal course of men's lives once more resumed. In the meanwhile your Committee on Program for 1944 and the Office of the Secretary will not be idle, and together we shall plan as complete a meeting as circumstances will permit. We shall be particularly anxious to do this for the coming meeting because of our silver jubilee. It will be twenty-five years next December 30 since Monsignor Guilday and his small group launched the Association in Cleveland. We have, therefore, a special reason for hoping that a full program can be arranged for Christmas week of 1944.

May I in conclusion pay the customary and justly-deserved thanks to those who have helped us during the past year. To President Butler of Columbia University and the Dean and faculty of Barnard College we are grateful for their hospitality here during these two days in the company of

the other historical societies. To Sister Marie Lenore and her students of the College of Mount Saint Vincent who so generously agreed to take charge of the registration bureau for the meeting, we are sincerely thankful. To Dr. John J. O'Connor and his Committee on Program, who were always prompt and helpful with suggestions; to Professor Meng and his Committee on Nominations for their time taken to select a panel of officers and committee personnel for the new year; to Dr. Stock and his Committee on Publications for completing all preliminary arrangements for the publication of our second volume of *Documents;* to our new President, Professor Kiniery, who came all the way from Chicago to preside in the absence of Mr. Pattee, and finally to you who have come—some from a great distance and at considerable cost to your convenience and purse—to make this two-day meeting a success; to all we owe, and we wish publicly to pay, our token of sincere gratitude. May God bless each and every one of you with a happy New Year!

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The White Canons of St. Norbert. A History of the Premonstratensian Order in the British Isles and America. By CORNELIUS J. KIRKFLEET, O.Praem. (West De Pere, Wisconsin: St. Norbert Abbey. 1943. Pp. xxvi, 307. $2.50.)

Written by an experienced historian, this book is a historical introduction to the establishment of the Order of St. Norbert in the British Isles and America. For the former it marks the eighth centenary of the Norbertine settlement and for the latter, the first hundred years. The bulk of the work deals with the British Isles, but it includes satisfactory sketches of the Order in the Americas, particularly in the United States.

The title of the volume should prove a happy one. It revives the name by which the Order was known in mediaeval England. White Canons seems more appropriate and definite than Norbertines, a contemporary appellation, and less baffling than the nomenclature, Praemonstratensians.

To some, enough glory arises from St. Norbert's inclusion among the founders whose statues grace St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. However, his real fame rests in his Order which has been active since 1120. To him and his followers goes the credit for transmitting the Augustinian monastic ideals to the modern world. His creative genius may be noticed by the introduction of lay tertiaries. He was the first to combine the contemplative life with parish work. The Order is characterized by these dedications: to the liturgy of the divine office, to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Blessed Virgin, and to education. In the beginning the Order was aided by its recruiting in university circles. Here was a guarantee of youthful devotion and intelligence of a group which put the organization on a solid and wide base. The Order is today what St. Bernard called it, peaceful warriors, that is, gentle to men, but redoubtable to evil.

Half of England's mediaeval parishes were in the care of monks. Just prior to the dissolution the White Canons had charge of 140 parishes. The story of monastic organization, personnel, administration, government, and the routine of work, study, and prayer, is briefly but adequately told.

Part IV includes a chapter on South America and employs four chapters in telling about the Order in the United States. Early in the last century negotiations to bring the Order to the United States failed. Arriving in 1843, the Reverend Adelbert Inama of Wilten, Tyrol, settled in 1845 at Roxbury, Wisconsin, where he made a brave effort to start a foundation and failed solely because of conditions beyond his control. In 1893, upon

the invitation of Bishop Messmer, three members of the Abbey of Berne, Heeswijk, Holland, headed by Bernard H. Pennings, came to serve in the Diocese of Green Bay. Their arrival was precipitated by the need for priests to shepherd Belgians, Hollanders, and French, some of whom were in danger of schism. Helped by newcomers from Berne Abbey, success crowned this mission.

Uppermost in the thoughts of the founders was the establishment of a priory which would assure permanency through its schools. A priory, set up in 1898, became an abbey in 1924 with the venerable Father Pennings as its abbot. As early as 1912 the foundations depended wholly on native recruits. The story embraces a rapid survey of the Order in the care of parishes and in the field of education, which stresses the preparation of teachers, radio broadcasting, and the schools at West De Pere, Wisconsin, at Philadelphia, and in the Diocese of Wilmington.

The volume is furnished with liberal appendices which contain documents, a bibliography, and an index. Throughout, good photographs supplement the narrative.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

St. Francis Seminary
Milwaukee

The English Carmelites. By LANCELOT C. SHEPPARD. (London: Burns Oates. 1943. Pp. viii, 115. 60/.)

Mr. Sheppard, no stranger to things Carmelite, packs into this small book "the salient facts of an eventful history"—that of the Carmelite Order in England for the last seven hundred years. Concerning the facts of the various foundations—the years, the localities, the people involved, the more illustrious products—he has summarized and simplified a great amount of material based, for the most part, on primary sources. As a ready reference in this regard, the book will be of much value. There are several matters, however, to which one might take exception.

Throughout the work Mr. Sheppard uses the word "calced" which has been officially repudiated by the Carmelites of the Ancient Observance. The author's discussion of the scapular question leads one to think that he has not familiarized himself with the recent refutations and contributions of Father Bartholomew Xiberta, O.Carm., in the *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, X, 530 ff. Mr. Sheppard mentions the return of the Carmelites to England in 1926, but it may be well to note that in 1901 the Dutch province attempted a foundation in Pudsey in the Diocese of Leeds which was abandoned in 1906 when most of the resident Catholics moved away (*AOC*, I, 37). In chapter nine, "The Carmelite Liturgy," mention is made of a traditional story concerning St. Louis IX's attending matins on Mount Carmel; an article in *Etudes Carmelitaines*, IV, 318 ff. considers

this unlikely. In the same chapter no mention is made of the important changes which were introduced in 1930, notably the revision of the calendar and the adoption of the Roman psalter. Furthermore, the regret expressed by the author "...that in the liturgical books of the Order...several saints are put down as being 'of our Order' whereas there is no historical ground for the supposition" (p. 98) and the hope "...that subsequent revision will...at least suppress the letters O.N. (*ordinis nostri*)..." (p. 99), indicate a complete misunderstanding of the motives behind the selection of those saints. They are symbols of a fundamental thesis in Carmelite history.

This thesis concerns the relationship of Elias and the Carmelites. Whatever historians have to say on the subject, the Carmelites have always considered Elias as their personal founder (not just an adopted patron) and his consequent influence on their liturgy, literature, and spirituality is an established fact (Cf. *Ecclesiastical Review*, CV, 218 ff.). Ignoring this from the start, it is no surprise that the author fails to include in the chapter on the liturgy what in the liturgy is really unique! Similarly, scarcely aware of the Marian element in the spirit of the Order, Mr. Sheppard in chapter ten misses what is really characteristic of the Carmelite vocation.

NORMAN G. WERLING

Mount Carmel High School
Chicago

The Sword of St. Michael, the Life of Saint Pius V. By LILLIAN BROWNE-OLF. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. x, 284. $3.00.)

This book is a short presentation of the life of Pope St. Pius V. The heroic pontiff is so outstanding in the Catholic revival of the sixteenth century—possibly its leading figure—that his deeds and spirit ought to be familiar to all Catholics. Mrs. Browne-Olf has served well such a purpose. She has not produced an exhaustive, documented, scholarly tome, but a popular, biographical study of the great Dominican pope, a story that is readable, well-balanced, and interesting. The narrative starts with an account of the conclave that elected Michael Ghislieri, O.P., to the Papacy.

Then it turns back in the succeeding chapter to his origins, his life as a member of the Dominican Order, and his career as the Cardinal Alessandrino. The remaining ten chapters deal with the activities of the pontificate of Pope Pius V, describing his defensive and offensive action against, in turn, Lutherans in Germany, Caesaro-papalists in Spain, Gueux in the Low-Countries, Huguenots in France, Anglicans in England, Calvinists in Scotland, heretics and schismatics in Poland, pagans in heathendom, and Turks in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. The portraits and characterizations of Pius are clearly and vividly drawn, whether they describe him as a patient, scholarly religious, a just and merciful inquisitor, a fear-

less, untiring champion of the rights of the Church, or a saintly, practical administrator of the Holy See. More than once the author applies the lessons of Pius' struggles to modern problems. Her observations, so made, are valuable and correct. Much space is given to the Battle of Lepanto; the description of it makes interesting reading. The important part which Pius V had in the great conflict is correctly estimated.

Several small errors mar this fine book. It seems stretching a point to call Luther a Catholic reformer before he became a heretic. Zwingli was killed at the battle of Kappel and not Zurich. Western Germany is by no means Prussian, Protestant, and militaristic; the Rhineland and Westphalia are among the strongest centers of German Catholicism. Lady Jane Grey's execution came seven months, and not four, after her brief reign. Queen Bertha was not baptized at Kent, she was born a Catholic Frankish princess. There never was a Jesuit university in Mexico. It is incorrect to say that no record whatever of the labors of St. Louis Bertrand has been left. The baptismal records at Tubera, where he had such extraordinary success, are in the saint's own handwriting. Finally, for a work that contains so many names and facts, there should have been an index. For the general reader it is a book well worthwhile.

MARTIN P. HARNEY

Boston College

Principles for Peace. Edited by HARRY C. KOENIG, S.T.D., Librarian, St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein. (Washington, D. C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference. 1943. Distributed by Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee. Pp. xxv, 894. $7.50.)

Within this volume there are 450 documents referring to peace or allied topics which were issued in the last sixty-five years by popes or their secretaries of state. The first document was written on April 21, 1878, by Leo XIII and the latest one by Pius XII on December 24, 1942. The bulk of the collection comes from the present century. To Pius X is credited a dozen pronouncements, to Benedict XV, 152, to Pius XI, 102, and to the present Holy Father, 137.

Because this collection represents public and official acts of the respective popes, the reader may study the authentic papal teaching concerning the subject of peace and some of its related topics. These may be referred to as the nature of human rights, the constitution of states, and problems regarding social and economic reform. It is hardly necessary to stress the unique role of the popes when they deal with the subject of peace. Besides, the book is the harvest of popes who were trained diplomats.

The volume is divided into five parts; each is introduced by a brief estimate of the pope concerned and his pontificate. Then follow the documents in chronological order; heading each document is a key sentence

telling of its contents. The collection of documents is not complete. Not the least restriction was imposed by the war which limited the editor to materials available in American libraries. The urgency of getting the collection into circulation in time to do the most good towards promoting a just peace is advanced as an apology for the unevenness of the English and for not issuing the documents at this time in their original tongue. In this collection a transcendent thought makes up for any imperfections discovered in the translations.

The characteristics of the documents may be listed as: universality, unified continuity of interest, doctrine and action throughout five pontificates, accuracy in the diagnosis of social ills, and a hopeful optimism. Because of the nature of the case, the popes appear in the documents primarily as mediators rather than judges. They offer no detailed application to a particular problem, but present in a general way the suitable moral and religious truth. For instance, one clear papal teaching declares that "the same means which lead to the attainment of the Eternal assure also to temporal goods their stability and safe keeping" (No. 1463). Another basic principle is thus proposed: "the world will enjoy peace... if men responsible for the government of peoples and their reciprocal relations renounce the cult of might; and if they accept the supreme authority of the Creator as the basis of all individual and collective morality" (No. 1470).

The book is published for the Catholic hierarchy of the United States by a committee acting under the chairmanship of Archbishop Samuel A. Stritch of Chicago. The other members of the bishops' committee are Bishops James H. Ryan of Omaha and Aloisius J. Muench of Fargo. Notable items in Father Koenig's editorial work include indication of the sources of the translations, a good bibliography, and an exceptionally fine index. The bishops' committee and its editor are to be congratulated on the appearance of this timely and significant volume.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

St. Francis Seminary
Milwaukee

Action This Day. By FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN, Archbishop of New York, Military Vicar of the Armed Forces of the United States. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xiii, 256. $2.75.)

Action This Day is a volume of letters written to his father by the author during a six months tour which led him to Vatican City, the battle fronts, England, the Holy Land, Persia, South Africa, and Madagascar. The very title promises an interesting and profitable venture in reading. The reader finds the promise amply fulfilled. Here in 241 pages, the author has shared with his readers the experience of a long and dangerous journey with little or no allusion to the hazards that necessarily accompanied it.

The Archbishop wrote these letters to his father something after the fashion of a diary of his daily experiences in a mission of charity. For his travels were motivated by a love of those over whom his responsible office of Military Vicar had placed him. By his journeys the author proved literally that "neither height, nor depth, nor any other creature" (Rom. 8, 35, and 39), could separate him from the love he bears those whose souls have been placed in his keeping.

In their wealth of detail the letters possess a depth of significance for many reasons. This reviewer singles out three—sufficient to stimulate anyone's enthusiasm in the studious perusal of these letters: the author reveals a phenomenal knowledge of places—geography is second nature with him; equally noteworthy is his memory of persons, which in turn may be accounted for by the very timely lessons he imparts to his readers in stressing the value of human beings individually. If for no other reason this book should be read for the sane philosophy it presents on the value of the individual. With unconscious charm and grace, the author shows this in the time and care he exercises in visiting each patient in the hospitals of the wounded soldiers.

Important, too, is the spirit of forgiveness he inculcates in many passages. Space permits only one characteristic quotation indicative of the repeated lessons he would have his fellow-countrymen learn: "If we could keep the spirit of revenge out of our action, if we could continue to concentrate our operations on military objectives, if we could punish the guilty, responsible leaders who have brought disaster on their own peoples and on us, we should have an easier task of reconstruction after the war. But if we use Nazi tactics in their full malice with the power that we are mustering by indiscriminately obliterating everything in every city, we are bound to suffer ourselves. This is my conviction. Let us win the war without destroying our victory" (p. 75).

Action This Day is a book that deserves long life in the memories of its readers. Although not ostensibly a didactic work, its lessons are elemental and profound. The fine example of filial piety is not the least of the many sustaining virtues which this book portrays.

FINTAN WALKER

St. Patrick's Rectory
Terre Haute, Indiana

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Centennial Essays for the Milwaukee Archdiocese (1843-1943). By PETER LEO JOHNSON, D.D., Professor of Church History, St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin. (Milwaukee: Centennial Committee, 2000 West Wisconsin Avenue. 1943. Pp. vii, 177.)

Among the various books and pamphlets published during 1943 to commemorate the first centenary of organized Catholicity in the Middle West,

this scholarly collection of essays is especially noteworthy. One might consider it a blueprint for a future builder of history. Tracing the ground plan on which the Archdiocese of Milwaukee has been built, Dr. Johnson presents fourteen interesting chapters of church history. He begins by drawing a picture of the lives of the early Jesuits around Green Bay in the seventeenth century. Following the suppression of the Society, the Wisconsin territory was left spiritually desolate for nearly a hundred years until with the influx of Catholic immigration the territory became incorporated in the dioceses of Baltimore (1791), Bardstown (1808), Cincinnati (1821), and Detroit (1833). The disputed question as to when the first Mass was celebrated in Milwaukee is discussed in the second essay while the third goes into details about the first church in the city. Martin Kundig, whose biography was published by Father Johnson in 1942, forms the subject of the next two essays and his pastoral as well as educational activities are given due recognition.

Thus we come to the days of Bishop Henni, the first Bishop of Milwaukee, a scholarly gentleman, who in the struggles of the native American versus the immigrant, proved to be a tower of strength for the German Catholics in his territory. The gigantic task of building a cathedral and the zeal displayed by him in erecting a seminary, make us realize how truly a great bishop he was. The picture of the humble beginning and the subsequent growth and development of St. Francis Seminary is vividly painted by the author and, in our estimation, forms the most interesting part of the book. The story covers four chapters and traces the guiding hand of Providence in the shaping of the religious future for the Middle West.

The gradual development of Catholic primary education is told in the succeeding chapter. Here we read that in the early days many district schools were managed by Catholics who taught religion after school hours. It is worthy of note that the first ward public school in Milwaukee in 1846 was conducted in the basement of St. Peter's Church. The concluding essay, entitled "Epilogue", pictures in contrast the present modern organization of the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau established in Milwaukee in 1920.

The volume has the footnotes relegated to the end which, although it may sometimes annoy the historian, makes for smooth reading of the text. The average Catholic layman will enjoy the reading of each essay, which, while complete by itself, nevertheless forms part of a fairly complete picture of the beginnings of Catholicity in Wisconsin.

CORNELIUS J. KIRKFLEET

St John's Rectory
Somonauk, Illinois

Saint Joseph in Appleton. The History of a Parish. By THEODORE ROEMER, O.F.M.Cap., Ph.D. (Appleton: George Banta Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. xiii, 306. $1.50.)

This history of a German Catholic parish in Wisconsin is a diamond jubilee book. Yet it has no pictures and measures 8½"x5½", while books of that nature usually appear in a larger format. On the other hand it has the appurtenances of history works such as a bibliographical preface, footnotes, tables, and a detailed index.

The author, a well-known historian, has gathered many small items and woven them into the work. While most of the items will interest only residents of the Fox River Valley, some observations are of wider interest. When the parish was founded in 1867, Appleton was in the Diocese of Milwaukee, but a year later it fell to the Diocese of Green Bay, whose organization had been suggested in 1866 at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. Father Roemer makes the startling statement: "the first hydroelectric plant in the world was installed at Appleton in 1882 . . . Appleton also had the first regularly operated electric street railroad of the world in 1886" (p. 8). In 1876 a raffle on a national scale was begun, but on July 13 of that year Congress passed a law forbidding the use of the mails for lottery purposes. The parish anticipated a profit of $18,000 but realized only $1,023. Conditions went from bad to worse, and finally in 1877 the Capuchin Fathers consented to accept the parish and its problems. The book accordingly contains a good deal of information about the Capuchins. While the author, a Capuchin, commendably avoids eulogy, most of the fourth chapter could have been condensed into a footnote.

St. Joseph's parish had many contacts with the Catholic Central Verein, and in 1872 the celebrated Austrian apostle of the Germans, Father Weninger, S.J., gave one of his many missions in Appleton. In the course of time the spirit of the parish changed and the old order gave way to the new. In 1901 English sermons were cautiously introduced by order of Bishop Messmer. Thenceforward the parish became progressively more English and concurrently less German. The author observes: "The dire prediction, that with the loss of the language the faith would also be lost, did not eventuate" (p. 148). Some potential doctor of philosophy ought to make a thorough study of this opinion which was held by many learned and pious priests.

The book is well printed and is almost free from errors. However, in the introduction Hemong should read Heming. If the general history of the Church in the United States is compared to a mosaic and each parish to a component stone, it becomes clear that Father Roemer has spent his time and talent on a valuable work.

BENJAMIN J. BLIED

St. Francis Seminary
Milwaukee

GENERAL HISTORY

The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility. By SIDNEY HOOK. (New York: John Day Co. 1943. Pp. xiv, 273. $2.50.)

"The Hero in Historiography" might serve equally well as a title for two-thirds of this cogent study, for it is largely a succinct criticism of the role of the hero as modern historians and philosophers have construed it. Professor Hook's earlier studies in philosophy, notably his acquaintance with the doctrines of the economic determinists, enable him to expose the inconsistencies of Trotsky and Plechanov with deft skill. In the final sections of the book he advances some conjectures of his own, not as "a theory of history but a contribution to a theory of history." (Introd. p. xiv).

It is impossible, in a review, to do more than indicate some nodal points in these twelve chapters of analysis and example. The author finds an attitude of fatalism prevalent in the western world today; he mentions the "mystical view of social fatality" presented by Spengler, Sorokin, and Toynbee. A consistent philosophy of social determinism, Hegelian, Spencerian, or Marxian, transforms the hero into an involuntary puppet of fate or social forces. The author, therefore, draws a distinction, not altogether clear to this reviewer, between "monistic organic determinism" and scientific determinism, affirming that the latter allows for "the existence of possible alternatives of development in historic situations" (p. 114). Not all alternatives are possible, but in hours of crises the "event-making man" may redetermine the course of history. The Russian Revolution is analyzed as a test case and the personality of Lenin found to be a decisive factor. "Without him there would have been no October Revolution" (p. 203).

The great man, then, may be indispensable, but he is still the prisoner of circumstances. He operates "within the framework of heroic action." Professor Hook is primarily concerned to explore and describe this framework, to discover when and how event-making men may succeed in rewriting the social scenario. As the sub-title indicates, his book is "A Study in Limitation and Possibility." Destiny, he implies, is no artist. It provides the stage, the materials, but never the plots of the dramas of history. Men make history, and they make it only when they have purposes, "some proposed *reworking* of conditions to bring them closer to human desires." (Introd., p. xiii). Having granted so much, the author pauses, hazarding no opinion where men discover their plots or derive their intuition that history ought to be a melioristic drama.

GEOFFREY BRUUN

Sarah Lawrence College

Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian. By MASON WADE. (New York: Viking Press. 1942. Pp. xiii, 466. $4.50.)

This biography has received such general commendation that this belated review will serve little purpose. Mr. Wade's readable study brings a fresh treatment, because of the generous (perhaps too generous) use of Parkman's diaries and correspondence, and a more detailed understanding of the historian's life than is to be found in the standard biographies by Farnham and Sedgwick.

Parkman belonged to the classical period of American historical writing which was marked by higher ideals of scholarship than had before prevailed. There were two schools of the period. On the one hand were the historians, of the type of Prescott and Motley, who devoted themselves to picturesque themes outside the history of the United States, and whose traditions were mainly literary. On the other hand were the historians who interested themselves in American topics, and whose impulses and associations were in great degree political. George Bancroft is the chief example of this school. Parkman belongs to both groups. Today he still stands among the greatest of historical writers. His work is both good history and good literature. Both his method and his findings have admirably withstood the tests of time.

Mr. Wade has done well with the facts of Parkman's life, although it may be objected that the account is too much restricted and confined to the diaries. There is more of the historian's attitude on current questions, notably toward woman suffrage, than will be found elsewhere. An example of Parkman's careful method is given in the incident of testing accuracy of certain journals in his possession through inquiries concerning the visibility of a comet in Peoria in 1681, and the date of Easter in the preceding year. Catholic students will profit in their understanding of the historian's attitude toward the Church by the account of his retreat at the Passionist monastery (pp. 140-147), his correspondence with O'Callaghan, his relations with Shea (pp. 342-345), and his correspondence with the Abbé Casgrain (pp. 384-388, 401-403).

What historians will find lacking in this biography is an adequate interpretation of Parkman as historian. It is no disparagement to say that the author has failed to show the limitations of his subject's work. Parkman was not able to explore for himself the vast masses of documentary material in foreign archives, with results not always satisfactory to himself. Inevitably, too, there has come to light much new material since Parkman's time—material which would doubtless have modified some of his statements and altered certain of his conclusions. Although one of the fairest of historians in most matters, he nevertheless failed to do entire justice to certain institutions of New France. In the same way he underestimated the strength of the seignorial system as transplanted to Canada.

It appeared to him archaic and an instrument of despotism, hampering the economic development of the colony. Like many other Anglo-Saxon writers, Parkman saw in the outcome of the American struggle between England and France the triumph of free institutions over those of despotism. Finally, a limitation that many scholars of today find in Parkman's work is that it is occupied too little with economic and social matters and institutions and too much with warfare and forest life. But the former phases of history were not then emphasized.

Since it is not listed in the bibliographical note appended to the text, the author apparently missed an autobiographical fragment which appeared posthumously in the *Harvard's Graduate Magazine*, (June, 1895). Mr. Wade may have known of this since it is embodied in Farnham's *Life* (pp. 318, etc.), but the bit contains so many details of the historian's work and of his singular sufferings that it is unfortunate it was not included in the exhaustive list of Parkman's published writings (pp. 453-456).

Mr. Wade is entitled to all the fulsome praise his volume has elicited; it cannot be overlooked in any future study of Parkman.

LEO F. STOCK

Carnegie Institution of Washington

George Lincoln Burr. His Life. By ROLAND H. BAINTON. *Selections from His Writings.* Edited by LOIS OLIPHANT GIBBONS. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 505. $3.75.)

The compiler of a learned report prepared for the American commission on the Venezuelan-British Guiana Boundary Dispute, George Lincoln Burr (1857-1938) was probably best known to historical scholars as an authority on witchcraft and on the religious aspects of the Renaissance and the religious revolt of the sixteenth century. But he was also an expert collector of rare books and manuscripts, and an influential teacher. Since his reputation for learning was immense, but the volume of his published work slight and scattered, this book is intended as a lasting tribute to his memory by Cornell University, an institution to which he devoted over a half century of service.

The biography by Professor Bainton of Yale is a masterful sketch which, in the brief space of 143 pages, vividly portrays the significant details of his life, particularly his unselfish character. Burr was a dynamic and unconventional personality, sufficiently assertive to refuse to wear a cap and gown on any occasion, and sufficiently retiring to be content with the role of an understudy to such dominating individuals as Andrew D. White and Henry C. Lea. In a faculty meeting he, who prided himself on being a great democrat, was once heard to exclaim: "I feel so strongly on this subject that I think I ought to have two votes" (p. 121). On another day when approaching his office and noticing a long queue of undergradu-

ates waiting to consult him, he demurely took his place at the end of the line (p. 140). These anecdotes are typical of the man. For a person of his religious temperament the most pathetic incident of his early life was the loss of his Christian faith. Beginning his student years at Cornell as a fervent Baptist, he tried Congregationalism for a while but finally found what he desired in the vagueness of Unitarianism. Hostility to the Catholic Church, which he evidently first conceived while collaborating on White's *Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896), is so blatantly expressed, at times, in his writings that it detracts from his scholarship. To mention a few examples: "a monkish logician" [Thomas Aquinas] (p. 173); "a last snoozing-place of orthodoxy" (p. 187); "the whole mass of the superstitions which had become the heritage of Christendom" (p. 362); "the unwavering credulity of the popes" (p. 483). More important than these phrases was the ridicule he now and then directed against essential elements of Christianity (cf. pp. 167 ff., 402-404, 426-427). His unbelief stemmed, in part, from the peculiar interpretation of the causes of the witchcraft delusion which he, following the lead of Henry C. Lea, adopted. He thought that the Jews received their knowledge of angels and demons from the Persians (p. 168); persistently refusing to concede the universal character of witchcraft among primitive peoples, he made of witch persecution a special argument against the Hebrew and the Christian religions. The fact that the delusion, which reached tremendous proportions in Germany, was no great problem in Catholic Spain and Italy between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, as both Lea and he admit (p. 456), should have warned him of the error in his explanation. But not even the opposition of Professor Kittredge and other historians of witchcraft served to open his eyes.

Here, then, is significant original research together with some information now antiquated, but no objective analysis of the principal problems involved nor even as comprehensive a survey of the literature on the subject for Germany as that contained in Janssen's *History of the German People*. On the other hand, he who could no longer accept the divinity of Christ did not hesitate to profess his conviction in the truth of what Henry Adams calls 'the most *naïf* of all the historian's *naïvetés*': "I too believe in progress and by evolution" (p. 434); "the brutes were our parents and the plants our grandparents" (p. 335).

From the fragmentary material on the matter contained in this book one is not convinced that, if Burr had written his projected history of religious liberty, it would have been "vastly more significant" than the scholarly treatise of Nikolaus Paulus entitled *Protestantismus und Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert* (1911), but one may agree with his biographer that it would have been "vastly different" (p. 89). Burr himself, after reading Paulus, had the candor to confess: "a flood of fresh research has made the clearer how tenuous as a whole is that old claim of Protestantism to the paternity

of tolerance" (p. 378). But when re-editing in 1931 his discourse on "Religious Progress", first delivered in 1905, he left undisturbed the words: "True tolerance . . . was born, four hundred years ago, when Christian men first dared to think that, spite of Adam's fall and human depravity, God's voice might be heard in Bible or in conscience without first waiting for the assurance of Holy Church" (p. 312).

To the end his admiration remained with the more radical of the sixteenth century heretics. In his presidential address on "The Freedom of History," read before the American Historical Association in 1916, he who boasts of having long been "a student of the history of freedom" (p. 397) refers to a "freedom of action and of choice" which is not "freedom of the will" (p. 412). On a different occasion he speaks of "man the genus" (p. 330). But, although his prejudices were deep-rooted and his philosophy at times unsound, he had a fundamental sense of justice. In his "Religious Progress" he noted: "Men sometimes tell us that what has brought us tolerance is only the growth of rationalism, the rise of the sciences. If I may trust my own studies, so far as they have gone, that is not true. It was not the greatest scholars, the men of boldest views, who led the movement. They were often, as they are today, the most intolerant of men" (p. 313). In his presidential address he admitted: "Even religious intolerance is such, not because religion is so intolerant, but only because intolerance is so religious. The veriest skeptic of us cannot get hot about the collar without dropping into religion for an oath" (p. 401).

Burr's interest in the mediaeval period was less extensive than is usually supposed, owing to his lack of feeling for the Ages of Faith and his deficient knowledge of the history of the Byzantine Empire and Arab culture. However, he made some contributions to this field chiefly in the form of summaries of the results of European scholarship, *e. g.*, "The Year 1000 and the Antecedents of the Crusades" (pp. 273-283) and "Anent the Middle Ages" (pp. 378-396). One of his former students, Charles A. Beard, relates that he heard him say in his seminar in 1899: "It is only through sympathy, never through hatred, that we can understand an age or a people" (cited p. 63). If George Lincoln Burr had only followed this advice, he would have been a much greater historian.

The book is well printed and contains, besides a portrait of the professor and ten illustrations, a complete bibliography of Burr's writings compiled by Henry H. King of the Cornell University Library. A few unimportant errors occur in translations from the Latin (pp. 174, 280), some footnotes are out of place (pp. 184, 371, 391), and the lack of an index is a serious defect in a work containing so much factual information.

RAYMOND J. GRAY

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A History of Magic and Experimental Science. Volumes V and VI, *The Sixteenth Century.* By LYNN THORNDIKE. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xxii, 695; xviii, 766. $10.00.)

These two volumes of fifteen hundred pages bring Professor Thorndike's great history down through the sixteenth century to about the year 1630. If it is the period that chronology calls the first century of the modern era, it is by no means a new age of science. Scientifically it is even a period of decline. These volumes are of a piece with the four that preceded. With them their author has completed his herculean task and hewed his way out of the morass of magical lore to where the history of modern science begins. The individuals he must deal with in this period are bewildering in number. The problems of subject classification become evident when it is noted that the index totals nearly 150 pages—mostly proper names, but including 1700 other topics ranging from antipodes to zodiac. There are forty-eight chapters. Often large subjects are blocked out for treatment: astrology (with many chapters devoted to various centers), alchemy, divination, witchcraft, anatomy, medicine, natural philosophy, etc. Again, an important name controls a chapter, though great names are remarkably few. Even these Thorndike deflates not a little by showing that their work was contaminated by pseudo-science or that their supposed contribution was previously made by mediaeval scholars. Thus Leonardo da Vinci, Achillini, Vesalius, Falloppia, Cardan, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe do not escape severe criticism. Many of the names have left a memory less savory. Just a list of some of them will give the reader an indication of what he will find. They are names that intrude themselves into everybody's reading: Cocles, Nifo, Pomponazzi, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, alias Bombast von Hohenheim, "wrong-headed" Erastus, Bodin (who "should perhaps be as infamous for his *Démonomanie* as he is famous for his *Republic*," etc.), Trithemius (with his absurd *Steganographia*), John Dee, and Giordano Bruno ("although much belauded by recent historians as a martyr of science and free thought . . . an indiscreet intellectual vagabond and *mauvais enfant*").

The fifteen pages of Chapter 1, "Intellectual Conditions and Characteristics of the Sixteenth Century," are a magnificent introduction to the two volumes. They contain a dozen or more generalizations based on the author's broad and profound study of the period. Here he brings out what appears in so many succeeding chapters, the neglect of mediaeval science in favor of new translations of ancient writings with more emphasis on them as classics than as works of science. This, on the other hand, was balanced by a covert use of mediaeval treatises. Like the early Middle Ages the sixteenth century was devoted to compendiums and epitomes: "the dangerous business of spreading a little learning thin over a great

surface of the population seems to have been stimulated by the invention of printing." Leonardo da Vinci speaks scathingly of the abbreviators of works (V, 35). Large, important treatises frequently remained long in manuscript. The "dead weight of pedagogical tradition and inertia did far more to delay the spread and general acceptance of the Copernican hypothesis than any religious opposition to it" (VI, 7). It was an age when charlatans flourished. Even the better scientists of the period were jacks-of-all-trades. As never before, perhaps, men of learning engaged in coarse controversy. They were less interested in facts than in the fantastic. The scientific import of the voyages of discovery and exploration was grasped but slowly. Latin still helped to bind the world of culture together, and though it was an age of religious and political cleavage, this phenomenon did not greatly affect the transmission of science or of pseudo-science. The latter was pursued in both Catholic and Protestant camps, although as a result of the action of the Catholic Church against magic, Protestants were more favorable to it. They were also more active against witches. However, Thorndike likes to point out "that there was no regular correlation or variation in inverse ratio between theology and science, scepticism and the occult, or science and superstition" (VI, 572). In favor of the period he finds that: "While faith in natural magic and astrology, in sympathy and antipathy, and the like, may seem as great and widespread . . . as in any preceding age, use of superstitious ceremonial and magical rite, of incantation, word, and number, has fallen off markedly" (VI, 591). The final chapter is a summary of almost mechanical conclusions, which are the more convincing because they are the results of statistics tabulated from the index. These figures are compared with those of the preceding volumes. It is interesting to find, e. g., that the volume on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contains nearly as many names of classical authors as do the two present Renaissance volumes and that in these latter volumes German place-names are most frequent, while "Italy still leads in men of first prominence."

Chapter by chapter bears witness to the author's prodigious reading in his sources, generally in old and not easily accessible editions, often in manuscript. It was a supreme test of his patience, because so much of the material consisted of arid wastes of pseudo-science. His presentation is tolerantly sympathetic; he finds good where he can. As always he picks out what is interesting to keep his account lively and lightens his own way and that of his readers by his inclination to see the funny side of things. A pleasing device—used only occasionally in the earlier volumes—is the apt quotation, generally in Latin, from the sources that is placed at the head of each chapter.

It is easy to see how Professor Thorndike could be irritated at the excessive bedevilment of the period, but we wish that he would not say: "Old mother Magic at the opening of the sixteenth century still receives filial

obeisance from her son, Science, and her daughter, Religion" (V, 85). Why should he think that the baptism of unborn infants who would not live was perhaps a "popular superstition not sanctioned by the church" (V, 509)? He considers the *Agnus Dei* "a bit of ecclesiastical magic to set over against the ecclesiastical prohibitions of occult arts" (V, 168). The *Agnus Dei* is just one of many sacramentals blessed by the Church. Any superstitious or magical use of them is, of course, forbidden by both divine and ecclesiastical law. Catholics for the most part use sacramentals very intelligently. The Latin back of "individual Trinity" (VI, 404) is presumably *individua Trinitas*, which is rendered as the "undivided Trinity." A *Weihbischof* should be called an auxiliary bishop rather than a suffragan (VI, 537). Only a few minor slips in the proof-reading have been noted. In Volume V a letter is missing on page 3, l. 3; *be* is omitted in the third line from the end of the middle paragraph on page 109; a letter is missing in the sixth line of the last paragraph on page 540. In Volume VI the ending *ed* is missing on page 86, l. 9; it is inferred on page 575 in a slip of no great consequence that 58 plus 59 total less than 108.

With the sixth volume the author rounds out his great projected work. He has had to decide whether to push on into the new age of science or to stay in the period he has covered. Mediaevalists will hope that his choice has been the latter. Whatever his decision, it seems a fitting time to recognize that in the monumental volumes of *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* Lynn Thorndike has made the greatest individual contribution to mediaeval studies that has come out of America.

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER

The Catholic University of America

MODERN HISTORY

The Liberal Mind of John Morley. By WARREN STAEBLER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. vii, 216. $3.50).

John Morley's entrance into public life coincided almost to the year with the death of Lord Palmerston. This latter event was highly significant for many reasons. It lowered the curtain on the final act of the pretentious though insipid drama of the Victorian Compromise; it also marked the ramification of the turgid stream of English liberalism into many new channels of thought, action, and aspiration. To "The Last of the Victorian Liberals" fell the lot—accepted with robust joy—of steering his tortuous literary and political course through the resulting delta of intertwining streams of opinions and policies.

Enrolling at Oxford with the intention of becoming an Evangelical minister, precocious young Morley emerged into the literary world with a strange assortment of intellectual and moral baggage. Just when or why he discarded his religion is not explained in his *Recollections*. In its place,

at any rate, he had substituted "Classicism (that is, the wisdom of the classics), Darwinism and Utilitarianism" which became "powerful influences in shaping his adult attitudes." The two dominant personal forces which fashioned Morley's political and social ideas were, in his biographer's estimation, John Stuart Mill and Edmund Burke. It is regrettable that the latter's influence was not more commanding.

Morley's appointment to the editorship of the *Fortnightly Review* within seven years of his graduation was a rare—and merited—tribute to his literary talents and his administrative capacities alike. During the first third of his fifteen years' incumbency he doubled the journal's circulation. Among the more prominent themes of what Mr. Staebler neatly terms his "sophisticated radicalism" were a relentless flaying of cant and snobbery in high places, vitriolic diatribes against the Established Church, a demand for universalized popular education (completely secularized, of course) which would be at once cultural and practical, scathing assaults on British imperialism and thunderous denunciations of the prevalent exploitation of labor. He brushed aside socialism as a panacea, contending that the most suitable economic system for England was a modified form of capitalism. Mesmerized in his immaturity by the current vogue of positivism, he insisted with characteristic imperiousness that "the most valuable subject in any system of education was history" which he defined as "descriptive sociology"! Though Morley in later life parted company with Comte on many points—as he did also with Mill—to the last he stunted his potentially remarkable mental powers by clinging to the conviction that truth is relative and by advocating a "non-theological religion".

In 1883 Morley went to the House of Commons "to gratify the national instinct and energy in the conflicts of the political arena and to prove the superiority of the man of action to the man of letters." Here he quickly displayed his independence of judgment and anticipated the radical change of view of his chief, Gladstone, by forsaking an original principle of "Ireland *for* the Irish but not Ireland *by* the Irish" in favor of the more enlightened "Home Rule or catastrophe." Appointed to the important post of Secretary of State for India in 1905, he was afforded a long-sought opportunity to take an active hand in concocting a health-giving remedy for the Empire's perennial problem child. In this attempt his efforts bore more immediate and tangible fruit than they had in the case of Ireland.

Mr. Staebler's analyses and estimates of his subject's political and literary achievements are, in the main, as satisfying as his lucid, pungent presentation is arresting. Yet, unwittingly groping in near-Stygian philosophical confusion at times, he does fail to discern Morley's feeble grasp of metaphysics; and apparently uninitiated in the sublimity of supernatural reality he lauds the liberal's humanitarianism, hollow though the thing essentially is. On the other hand, while he sharply silhouettes the bleak-

ness of Morley's veiled pessimism, he generally treats his subject with an appealingly judicious sympathy whether in appraising his conduct as a public official or in criticizing his famous French studies and English biographical series.

CLARENCE J. RYAN

Marquette University

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Growth of American Thought. By MERLE CURTI, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1943. Pp. xx, 848. $5.00.)

Man has long argued the question whether human activity precedes thought or whether mental processes precede activity. Whatever the decisions may be, some understanding of the thought pattern of a people is a necessary auxiliary, if not a preliminary, in the comprehension of the historic development of a nation. Despite the contributions of Parrington, Gabriel, *et al,* American historians have been slow to seek these ideological bases for their history. In the effort to supply the initial overall synthesis, Professor Curti has assayed the tremendous task of summarizing the basic, yet fluctuating, "climates of opinion" which were representative of the American people as they developed from European outcroppings in the new world, through the revolutionary and nationalistic eras, into the economic, social, and intellectual crises in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Probably no single reader or student will grant that Professor Curti's synthesis is definitive (an estimate against which the author explicitly warns the reader), or agree with his emphases or selections of materials. Nevertheless, the intelligent general reader and the scholar both stand indebted to the author for his courage in undertaking such a task and for his fundamentally sound success in achieving such a preliminary survey of the complexities of American thought. Developed from voluminous reading (an extended yet tersely critical bibliography of American intellectual life is appended to the text) in materials ranging from songs, folklore, and comic strips, through sermons, speeches, and lectures, to formal treatises, reports, and critical reviews, the author's *Growth of American Thought* is practically encyclopaedic in its contents. From Dante to Dewey, from Disney to Millikan, from the Puritan's acceptance of divine intervention to the cosmic rays and relativism of twentieth-century studies, the text has swept all the basic concepts of each *milieu* of America's development into its embrasive coverage. In fact, the vast compilation of historical detail comprises the major weakness in the volume. No significant tendencies actually stand out from the array of movements and, with many unevaluated impressions on American thought, the reader will often be unaware

of the true fundamentals in our ideological development. Complicating the abundance of material is the author's effort to present a social history of American thought wherein the environment and the organs of knowledge and education are related to the developing ideas. The author is, nevertheless, basically successful in accomplishing his aims of presenting the main and dominant aspects of American thought over three centuries. His style, while not fluent, is interestingly readable with only an occasional resort to professional terminology. A second edition after the termination of the emergency could be presented in a more attractive format. In fine, Professor Curti has performed an extensive and very useful service to his colleagues, as well as his fellow-citizens. This survey does not attain to perfection, but he who first plows the entire field contends with the greatest obstacles and simplifies the efforts of succeeding workers. Let him, who would criticize, improve on Curti's history which, until then, must stand in solitary splendor as the only complete presentation of America's intellectual growth.

From the Catholic viewpoint there are aspects of this study which should be of interest to the Catholic reader. He will be pleased at the relatively fair attention given to Catholic missionary activity of the French and Spanish, although there may be some who will question the statement that their contribution was basically negative and "... little more than a legacy of place names and faded memories" (p. 15). It is easier to state, than to demonstrate, that Maryland Catholics did not approve of the principle of religious freedom (p. 71). A few qualifying adjectives in the statement regarding "The general reluctance of foreign born priests" (p. 493) would have saved the author from the barbs which he will receive for a basically true viewpoint. There will be serious criticism of the failure to give any attention to such figures as John Ireland, John L. Spalding, Cardinal Gibbons, and John A. Ryan. The proportionate space given in the index to "Catholicism" and to "Dewey" and "Harvard College" may be irritating, but how much has Catholicism contributed to American thought and how much material have Catholic scholars made available for such a thesis?

These items are, however, incidental to more fundamental Catholic reactions to this volume. The book is written entirely from the rationalistic viewpoint. It does unconsciously develop the progressive decline of interest in, and the importance of, absolutes (especially theism) in American thought, since intellectual history could result in no other conclusion. However, reasonable readers will be disappointed that the author continued his "objectivity" to the extent of permitting obvious contradictions within a philosophy to go unchallenged. How, for example, can Dewey, who maintains no fundamentals or absolutes, expand his philosophy "into fundamental law" (p. 563) or "intelligently selecting from the group values" (p. 564) systematize principles of the instrumentalist

philosophy? This is merely a single instance of numerous parallel discussions wherein the author might be totally unprejudiced and still criticise the inherent contradictions within the American thought pattern. The entire account is a studied effort at dispassionate objectivity and yet underlying the words of the ex are fundamenal (and *a priori*) assumptions. Basic among these postulates is the rationalistic point of view, with its corollaries of optimism (particularly in the concluding paragraphs of page 753) and of the idea of progress. Less objectionable, but not less questionable, are the assumptions that the democratic tradition is always in the process of improvement and that education, in the sense of schooling and book learning, is the cure-all for national evils. These attitudes are practically indigenous to the American pattern of thought and while they may not be acceptable to all, they do not vitiate the essential value of the work. Nor do any of this reviewer's comments intend to give the impression that Professor Curti has not presented a very useful, complete, and original summary of the intellectual inheritance that has contributed significanly to the making of "The American".

EDWARD P. LILLY

The Catholic University of America

American Heroes and Hero-Worship. By GERALD W. JOHNSON. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1943. Pp. 284. $3.00).

In this volume Mr. Johnson, journalist and political observer, presents some of the startling ironies with which the history of the Republic is studded. There is the irony of Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, the French physiocrat, who wished to establish in America a colony for refugees from political oppression but who ended up by creating a gun-powder factory which later became E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Company, one of our largest industrial organizations. There is the irony of Jefferson, the realist, who was "right when he trusted the people, and wrong when he distrusted the future;" and Hamilton, the idealist, who "was wrong when he distrusted the people, and right when he trusted the future." Again, there was Martin Van Buren, who, as President, ruined his administration coming out for sound money in 1837, and lost the chance to redeem himself by opposing the immediate annexation of Texas. There is the irony of William Henry Harrison, ignorant of both statecraft and politics, who defeated successively Clay, the master statesman, and Van Buren, the master politician. The true-blooded aristocrat had been elected by the proletariat on the assumption that he lived in a log cabin and was a man of the people.

In a fascinating chapter, the author balances William Jennings Bryan and Theodore Roosevelt. It seems to Mr. Johnson that it is Bryan's ideas, not Roosevelt's, that have prevailed. Finally, the author deals with Woodrow Wilson, a Scotch-Irish, Presbyterian, southerner. Wilson was

the realist, his opponents the idealists. What was idealistic was the assumption that "in the crowded world of the twentieth century, the nations could live happily and safely together without any provision for restraint of one that might go mad". These are only a few examples of the ironies of American history discussed by the author. The style is vigorous and clear. As for its historical value, however, the reviewer is a little dubious. It presents an index but no footnotes or bibliography.

HERBERT W. RICE

Marquette University

The American. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. ix, 404. $3.00).

With this volume, the aim of which is to discover the forces that have made the American different from the citizen of any other nation, Mr. Adams concludes his general accounts of American history. The author's avowed method is to make soundings here and there in American history and to try to perceive the qualities of the American and the direction in which he is changing.

Mr. Adams' views of the characteristics of the American are summarized in an epilogue of fourteen pages, which may properly be read instead of the entire book. He is very good in dealing with the attitude of the American man to woman, an attitude which he describes as a combination of excessive indulgence and inability to enjoy women's society (pp. 324-330). He stresses points that have been mentioned by Miss Martineau, Keyserling, Dickens, and Siegfried—American cockiness, sensitiveness to criticism, gregariousness, acquisitiveness regarded almost as a sport, social equalitarianism, hospitality and kindliness, the sense of hurry, and the love of bigness. Cheap land and the frontier, the venturesomeness of immigrants, the business spirit, and the ocean barrier, all receive their customary tribute. More interesting is the author's appeal to the American dream of freedom, opportunity, and equality. He repeats an argument from his *The Living Jefferson,* that a sense of the defeat of this dream leads to periodic insurgent democratic movements.

A chronological method of treatment is responsible for much diffusion and irrelevance. At times, despite the author's disavowal, the work seems to be a general history of the United States. A division of the book according to characteristics, in some such manner as Dennis Brogan's admirable, *The English People,* would probably have concentrated Mr. Adams' attention on his subject.

There is little in the present work which may not be found in Mr. Adams' previous writings, and, in view of the interest and importance of his subject, it is a disappointment to note that he appears to have done no special research for this volume. He has been content to write out his meditations on the American without raising questions the answers to

which would have involved long labors. Nor has he bothered to correct a number of his views, e. g., his adverse judgment on the character of the British royal governors,—which have been sharply and conclusively challenged. There are a surprising number of minor errors in dates, terms of treaties, references to English kings, and names of books and authors. A false point about the public lands on page 307 is correctly contradicted on page 348.

Despite many and serious faults, the present work is thoughtful and displays the author's talents for generalization which made some of his earlier works deservedly popular.

MATTHEW A. FITZSIMONS

University of Notre Dame

The Soul of a Nation. The Founding of Virginia and the Projection of New England. By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xiii, 378. $3.50.)

With all known sources at his disposal and carefully used, Dr. Matthew Page Andrews has narrated the history of Virginia as the colony of the London Company. Written in a friendly and intimate manner, as if the author had sailed on the *Sarah Constant* and was one of the few to survive the seventeen years of the Company's rule, *The Soul of a Nation* is the most exhaustive study to date of the colony from the arrival of Edward Maria Wingfield, the first president of the Council in Virginia, to Sir Francis Wyatt, the Company's last governor. By that time private property, a profitable staple crop, and representative government were sufficiently rooted in the soil and soul of the colony to withstand, with the aid of the Atlantic, royal interference. By that time, too, New England was no longer a projection, and although the attention given to the Pilgrims does not merit a place in the sub-title, it will remind New Englanders not to overstress the year 1620.

The author's real contribution will be found in his probing of the economic, political, and religious forces within the Company and the colony. The emphasis is on the Company, on the political and religious motives, and in particular on the success of the planned policy of the Sandys-Southampton-Ferrar group to perpetuate "liberal political principles" in Virginia. Lack of dividends was of little concern to this group and in the end their aims triumphed. This is the point of departure and difference from the findings of W. F. Craven in *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (1932) and of Charles W. Andrews in *The Colonial Period of American History: The Settlements* (1934).

Dr. Andrews, well aware that the religious and the economic motives are not mutually exclusive, has searched diligently for and has discovered

much evidence of the religious, missionary, and educational plans and efforts of some of the adventurers under the leadership of Sandys. This has been a neglected aspect of the Company's activities and will compel some corrections in the appraisal of its work. Yet the profit motive of the organization has not been deprived of its primacy; too much of the evidence is borrowed from publicity literature. The religious motive was strong in the seventeenth century and one is not surprised to discover evidence of converting the Indians. But it would have been a surprise if the plan of inducing the Indians to come to Jamestown for conversion had materialized. The missionary must go to the Indians and there build his mission. The London Company had not studied the mission field very closely. Throughout the volume, those who differ with or oppose Sandys fare rather badly; this is especially true of the Earl of Warwick. The reasons for the disastrous Sandys-Warwick split are not clear. Why should Warwick, who permitted, if he did not promote, the introduction of popular government in Bermuda, quarrel with Sandys, to the ruin of the London Company, over the introduction of similar political ideas in Virginia?

The author has been over-zealous in his quest for prototypes and seminal American institutions (Sir Edwin Sandys and George Yeardly are prototypes of Jefferson and Washington, the twenty-ton *Discovery* was the first American navy, etc.), in order to show perhaps that the soul of the nation had been created during these seventeen years. The results of the search are not impressive and underscore the fact that this new nation and this new man, the American, were made during the seventeenth century, with essential contributions from all the colonies and from the non-English immigrants. Many readers will regret that Dr. Andrews did not spend more time showing how English or "Anglo-Celtic" culture was transferred to Virginia and took deep roots in its soil. One could name, too, a better authority than John Lothrop Motley on Spain. But all readers will enjoy this volume on the founding of the first permanent English colony on the shores of the Atlantic.

WILLIAM L. LUCEY

College of the Holy Cross

Origins of the American Revolution. By JOHN C. MILLER, Assistant Professor of History, Bryn Mawr College. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. 1943. Pp. xiv, 519. $3.50.)

To say that this well-written and fine-appearing volume is a most satisfactory study would not be doing full justice to its author. For Professor Miller's book is more than a creditable essay; it is a unique and brilliant contribution—a landmark, almost, in American historiography. Its value derives less, however, from the originality of its specific viewpoints than

from its thorough synthesis of essential materials around a simple, basic theme, and from its novel methodology. Although he has unearthed an amazing number of new facts, he has not discovered any new "causes" of the American Revolution. Mr. Miller's is the old theme that the two parts of the British Empire separated over the issue of Parliament's determination to raise a colonial revenue.

The constitutional struggle is not portrayed, however, in a detached, narrowly legalistic manner, but is squarely set in the larger framework of conflicting views of empire on opposite sides of the Atlantic. This is one of the chief merits of the *Origins of the American Revolution*. There is scarcely a page that does not by a sentence or phrase suggest the diverging imperial outlooks, while five chapters, (I, II, III, V, IX, and XVII) explore with luminous detail every aspect of the contrast. If after 1763 Englishmen and Americans were in like measure pleased at the prospects of the British Empire, they conceived its future growth and prosperity in quite different terms. To most Englishmen, in whose eyes a new Roman Empire was in the making, parliamentary taxation of the colonies was esteemed the most important part of the mother country's undoubted superiority and sovereignty. To most Americans, who were coming to look upon themselves as a "Great Empire", and who insisted that the British Empire was in fact (and ought to be in constitutional right) a "union of equals", a "federation of self-governing commonwealths", imperial taxation spelled loss of liberty and must be resisted at all costs. On imperial federation (based on colonial representation in Parliament) Professor Miller is conclusive, showing that both sides opposed it—the British because they feared the growing population of the colonies, the Americans because they wanted home rule as well as the rights of Englishmen.

Although the colonists preferred free trade to the mercantilist system, they subordinated economic to political issues. They were willing apparently to accept parliamentary trade regulation in return for freedom from parliamentary taxation, but this promising basis of compromise, as the author points out, proved unacceptable to Englishmen, Whig and Tory alike. The bearing of religious conflicts on the imperial rift is touched upon, particularly the way colonial spokesmen played upon the popular fear of bishops and "popery."

Not the least of this book's merits is its model presentation. It is no exaggeration to say that it is a deftly constructed mosaic of quotations from original sources—manuscripts, printed documents, pamphlets, newspapers, and contemporary histories. The quotations determine the author's narrative, it is clear; they are made also to fit and to illustrate it. The author rarely quotes from recent secondary authorities and refers to them less than a half hundred times in a book of some 500 pages. With a restraint which elicits the reviewer's admiration, Professor Miller avoids cramming

his footnotes with those involved disquisitions to which we have become resigned in works of this kind. By thus departing from beaten paths the writer points the way to more effective methods of historical production.

But in omitting bibliographical data altogether this "reformer" from the Harvard Society of Fellows overreaches himself. The intelligent reader, not particularly familiar with American history, is certain to think this the only worthwhile account of the American Revolution in its preliminaries—an impression which Professor Miller, in justice to his co-workers, ought to have been at all pains to avoid creating. A short "bibliographical note" would have sufficed as a "history" of this excellent history.

AARON I. ABELL

Nazareth College
Rochester

Maryland During And After The Revolution: A Political And Economic Study. By PHILIP A. CROWL. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXI, No. 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. 185. $1.75.)

As our Federal Constitution was largely the product of American political experience, and, indeed, became a platform designed by the first of our national parties to win control of the country, any work upon "origins" must take into account the political situation in the several states during and after the War of Independence. Mr. Crowl has given us an admirable survey of Maryland politics as his contribution to this sort of background. He carries the story onward from the point where Charles A. Barker's *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940) left off, and makes possible a comparison of the Maryland situation with that which prevailed in other states. Two points are made clear: the notion of "an internal revolution carried on by the masses of the people against the local aristocracy," cannot be held sound with reference to Maryland; and the term, "critical period," for the years 1783 to 1787 is most inadequate for purposes descriptive of local politics. The elaboration of these points and an account of the ratification of the Federal Constitution make a good story.

The squires and lawyers of the "Country Party," for whom the Revolution was a culminating victory over the proprietary interest, had no desire to extend the blessings of liberty to opportunists—that is, to those who were anxious to improve their fortunes by confiscation of loyalist property and evasion of pre-war private debts. Thus, two main issues, confiscation and repudiation, became the matter of early state politics in which there were only limited victories for the radicals. The conservative element had made it *their* revolution, and they made the first state constitution after their own image, so it is easy to see why Maryland became a

model commonwealth in the estimation of less happy oligarchs in other states. However, the result involved something of a paradox with reference to the movement for the Federal Constitution. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was the leader of the Maryland conservative statesmen, and the archtype of the rich, wise, and good citizen who, in other states, was to be found promoting the cause of the new federalism of 1787, did not choose to lead the state's delegation to Philadelphia. His distant kinsman, Daniel Carroll, reflected the former's considered judgment that, "unless the several state govts. be well organized, I am confident the federal Govt., however perfect it may appear in Theory, will always be found very defective in practice" (p. 111). With his own state well behaved he could afford to be skeptical where others were desperate contrivers. So Maryland did not present a strong delegation to the Convention, and its attitude remained equivocal when Luther Martin left Philadelphia in an opposing state of mind. But when Federalism's opposition was seen to consist mainly in paper money factions, it became a point of consistency to give that monster another burial. For this and other reasons an unconditional ratification followed.

In developing the economic progress of Maryland, Mr. Crowl has some significant points to make with reference to pre-war debts and the early commercial interests of Baltimore. On the state's role in the western lands controversy he is content to leave the story as told elsewhere, but no mention is made of Abernethy. Considerable space is given to an analysis of securities as a factor in the gentry's attitude toward the Federal Constitution. The conclusion, that for Federalists, "mere hope of private gain by no means entirely explains their decision," is characteristically cautious and well established. In fact, the modesty of the author in generalization and his generosity with detail ensure a permanent usefulness for the volume.

JOHN T. FARRELL

College of New Rochelle

American Negro Slave Revolts. By HERBERT APTHEKER. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 409. $4.50.)

Under the influence of the late Professor U. B. Phillips, the history of American slavery has been, in the last twenty years, reinterpreted by both southern and northern historians in terms of the relativist tendencies that have influenced so much historical writing in the United States. The earlier condemnation of slavery in the writings of abolitionist and anti-slavery writers tended to give way to an explanation of slavery in terms of southern environment, physical and social, and to the concept that the "race" issue itself has always been "the central theme" of southern history. According to this new southern school of history the Negro slave

tended to be pictured as on the whole a well-adjusted and happy creature; the paternal and beneficent aspects of slavery were emphasized; and abolitionists' interference with slavery and the habit on their part of morally condemning slavery and slave-owners was interpreted as a basic, if not the most basic, cause of the Civil War.

Some historians have thought that this interpretation was carried too far, that it was "over-corrective." Negro historians have for some time collected the writings of fugitives and have found in these, as well as in slave-songs, evidence that slavery was far from having been as roseate an institution as the southern school pictured it to be, and that the slaves were by no means docile and contented. The studies of Dr. Charles Wesley have emphasized the militant aid given by northern freedmen and free Negroes to the anti-slavery crusade, and those of Joseph C. Carroll (*Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1860*) have called attention to the extensive character of slave revolts. Mr. Aptheker himself has for some years been publishing in the *Journal of Negro History* and in *Science and Society*, a Marxist quarterly, the results of his own investigations. These he has brought together and supplemented in the doctoral dissertation presented at Columbia University and now published under the imprint of the Columbia University Press.

Dr. Aptheker defines a slave insurrection as any plot engaging at least ten slaves, designed to effect their own freedom and that of other slaves, and referred to by whites in contemporary records as an uprising, plot, or insurrection. So defined, Mr. Aptheker has discovered somewhat more than 250 conspiracies or insurrections. He attributes these, not to abolitionist agitation and encouragement, but to discontent with "the degradation, exploitation, oppression, and brutality" with which, in his judgment, slavery was synonymous. Economic depression and the concentration of slaves in urban areas also seem to have been contributing factors. In addition to presenting a great deal of documentary evidence regarding the fear of whites, the system of controls and censorship which they developed, and the "cruel" conditions against which the slaves revolted, the author gives a detailed account of the principal uprisings, plots, and insurrections from early colonial times through the Civil War. His study is the most comprehensive and elaborately-documented monograph on this subject which we have.

Dr. Aptheker maintains that the insurrections led to repressive measures in both North and South and helped convert the anti-slavery movement into a struggle for the security of the democratic rights of the white people. He also insists that the evidence he brings forward makes necessary the revision of the generally-accepted notion that the Negro's "response was one of passivity and docility. The evidence, on the contrary, points to the conclusion that discontent and rebelliousness were not only exceedingly common, but, indeed, characteristic of American Negro slaves." He also

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concludes that "cruelty was characteristic of the institution of American Negro slavery," and not, as many recent historians have held, exceptional.

This monograph is notable on several scores. By presenting an impressive amount of evidence in support of his basic theses the author helps to correct the tendency of many recent students to justify slavery. He also provides the Negroes of today with evidence for maintaining the pride many have begun to feel in the militancy and assertiveness of their forefathers. The study is also noteworthy for its bold and vigorous reassertion of an absolute standard of "right" and "morality" as against the relativist tendencies of many historians to explain "evil" and "wrong" to a point dangerously near "justification."

In the judgment of the present reviewer the weakness of Dr. Aptheker's approach and methods does not lie in the fact that his frame of reference is that of the absolute moralist. It is rather that he has ignored the lessons the modern cultural anthropologists have to teach historians. He has separated from the totality of the cultural pattern one segment. He frequently attributes conscious motives where others would see unconscious factors, rationalizations, and pressures at work. In spite of this limitation, Dr. Aptheker has brought forward and presented clearly an immense body of data that many historians have ignored, and that, if taken into account, do certainly modify the widely-held view that the slaves were by and large docile and happy in bondage.

MERLE CURTI

University of Wisconsin

The Wake of the Prairie Schooner. By IRENE D. PADEN. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xix, 514. $3.00.)

This book is a history of the Oregon-California Trail in the 1840's and 1850's. It is a scholarly work; and yet it is not (in its present form at least) a book for professional historians, whom the lack of an *apparatus criticus* will sadly disappoint. While there is not a single footnote in the whole book, the specialist will find within its covers much that is otherwise inaccessible to him. Furthermore, he will also find much that is corrective of mistaken ideas which have accumulated over the years. For every line of this work is supported not only by a voluminous reading of journals and diaries within the period it treats, but also by personal observation made possible by repeated visits during nine years along different segments of the trail.

Although the work lacks the usual critical aids, the bibliography is excellent; and the quotations from it are not only apt but numerous as well. Repeatedly the reader finds himself anxious to check a quotation, but there is very often not a hint to its source and, while it is true that one may frequently trace a quotation to one of the works enumerated in the bibliogra-

phy, such a roundabout and inaccurate procedure is definitely not what the scholar expects. Nor is this method always possible, as the important quotation on page 387, to choose one example, demonstrates. For this shortcoming the reviewer blames the publishers, for he is aware that Mrs. Paden is too much of a scholar herself to fall voluntarily into such a neglect. What is needed, since publishers must have sales, is a critical edition as well as this popular one, in much the same manner that Professor Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* was recently brought out. Thus both classes of readers could be satisfied.

For this book is also a popular work. And the reader who cares naught for sources but who has a great love for the history of the great migration to the West of a century ago, will find instruction and entertainment as well. The sand and dust, the heat and rain, the sufferings and dangers, the tragedies and the heroisms—especially of the pioneer women—along the trail, are graphically set forth. But the interested reader should find much more, for a passion to visit some of the historic spots on some segment of the trail in his own vicinity, wherever that may be, should possess him. For the whole trail is in this book and all its parts. The Sublette Cut-off, the Hudspeth Cut-off, the Hastings Cut-off, and other sections less well known have their due; and so too have other points along the trail from Westport Landing to Sutter's Fort, such as Dobeytown, Fort Laramie, Fort Hall, Ragtown, and Placerville. It is a rousing piece of work and will justly find favor with a great many readers.

A few criticisms are subjoined in the hope that they may prove helpful. While the bibliography is good, it is not perfect. There is no reference to the letters of Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet in *Rapport sur Les Missions du Diocese de Quebec*, No. 9 (March, 1851), though a copy of this publication is in the Bancroft Library. Bishop Blanchet traveled the trail with a group of Catholic clerics, including a band of five Oblates of Mary Immaculate, in 1847. A very important omission is the "Notes on the Vegetation and general character of the Missouri and Oregon Territories," by Charles A. Geyer, in the *London Journal of Botany*, IV (1845), 479 ff. Mrs. Paden would, the reviewer believes, have found reference to this work profitable in reconstructing the flora of the trail.

The opening lines of Chapter XXVI are difficult to place (p. 374). There should be a brief note connecting the two maps on pages 264 and 324 with the above-mentioned passage. On page 270, the summit spoken of in the second last line is not identified (Blanchet wrote ecstatically of this same view). There is hardly more than a reference to the Applegate or southern route into the valley of the Willamette; and the map on page 227 confounds the Blacks Fork with the Big Muddy. The reference to the emigration of 1842 does not mention Dr. Elijah White, and the same paragraph seems to represent the shooting of young Bailey as deliberate

(p. 212). Whitman is said to have been a minister (p. 326). The maps, which are excellent guides, are not included in the table of contents. None of these shortcomings is important and they can easily be rectified in a new edition which Mrs. Paden richly deserves to see off the press.

WILLIAM L. DAVIS

Gonzaga University

George Fitzhugh, Propagandist of the Old South. By HARVEY WISH. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 360. $3.00.)

This biography of George Fitzhugh is the first important study that has been made of this southern opponent of liberalism. It is the biography of a Virginian who did a great deal of harm by exacerbating the relations between the North and the South. Before Fitzhugh had published his *Sociology for the South* in 1854 the main body of the pro-slavery dialectic had been fashioned, but he added new militancy to the cause by maintaining that slavery was a wholesome and natural institution for free white workers as well as for black slaves. In a previous brochure Professor Wish had labeled Fitzhugh, "conservative of the Old South." Now he calls him, "propagandist of the Old South," an improvement of title since it places emphasis on his role as an agitator. Professor Wish has written critically, and at times brilliantly, concerning the ideas of this Virginia lawyer, relating them to the stream of European thought, pointing out Fitzhugh's indebtedness to Carlyle and to the English reviews, which became his chief intellectual pabulum. The author has been bold, but the reviewer thinks with considerable justification, in portraying Fitfihugh as a propagandist of doctrines that resemble modern fascism. A curious combination of radicalism and conservatism, this erratic southerner championed such causes as free schools, diversification of southern economic life, preservation of the federal union, southern nationalism, religious orthodoxy, the revival of the African slave trade, and the glorification of war.

The most valuable contribution of Fitzhugh was his exposure of the evils of free capitalistic society. He proclaimed that free society had "failed," for the condition of the laboring class in the North was worse than that of the southern slave. The "failure" of free society beyond the Mason and Dixon line, he believed, had been retarded by the safety valve of cheap lands in the West, but eventually the North would experience the same diseased symptoms of strikes, the rise of socialism, and the degradation of the laboring class that afflicted Europe. Unfortunately, Fitzhugh did not investigate the laboring conditions of the North, but relied upon broad sweeping generalizations. Furthermore, his assault on free, capitalistic society made little impression on northerners, for laissez-faire ideas were too strongly entrenched in that generation and his crit-

icisms were vitiated by their paradoxical overstatement and their motivation in pro-slavery defense. His attack on free society turned into a boomerang because northern politicians pointed out that the pro-slavery militants of the South wished to enslave the working man of the free states. Professor Wish has rendered a valuable service in revealing that Fitzhugh was the author of the editorial in the *Richmond Enquirer*, which gave Lincoln his famous "house divided" doctrine. To many northerners Fitzhugh's extreme defense of slavery and his condemnation of Jeffersonian liberalism represented the authentic voice of the South. Yet this reviewer believes, despite the evidence which the author has assembled, that Fitzhugh did not represent a large segment of southern opinion.

CLEMENT EATON

Lafayette College

Theodore Roosevelt and Labor in New York State, 1880-1900. By HOWARD LAWRENCE HURWITZ, Ph. D. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 500] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 316. $3.75.)

During the period from 1880 to 1900, Theodore Roosevelt was passing through the stages preparatory for the presidency. This study is concerned with Roosevelt's record in the state assembly at Albany, his record as police commissioner of New York City, and as governor of the state, in so far as they indicate his attitude toward the labor problem. The author attempts to answer such questions as: did Roosevelt help or hinder labor organizations as they tried, presumably, to improve the worker's status? Did Roosevelt's statements correspond with his actions? Did labor view him as a friend? What changes, if any, were evident in the period from 1880 to 1900?

Dr. Hurwitz was given access to material not previously available to investigators, and has seemingly worked conscientiously to solve the questions noted. The result is not a glorification of Roosevelt, by any means. Rather, the final impression is of a man not friendly to labor, basing this unfriendliness upon a fear that labor would resort to lawlessness and violence if not kept constantly in check by governing forces, and also upon a belief that labor leaders did not really represent labor. As an assemblyman Roosevelt actively opposed the efforts of labor unions working in behalf of adult male workers, and he opposed any raise in the low wages being paid such public servants as policemen, firemen, and teachers. He opposed legislative efforts to reduce working hours for men. He did, however, manifest an interest in legislation in behalf of women and children employed in factories and sweatshops. As police commissioner of New York City he made clear his thoughts regarding suppression of disorder by stating, "'If it comes to shooting we shall shoot to hit. No blank

cartridges or firing over the heads of anybody'" (p. 157). Because of Altgeld's position in the Pullman strike of 1894, Roosevelt declared that Altgeld "'would connive at wholesale murder'" (p. 181). As governor of New York, "Roosevelt failed to curb the sweatshop evil in New York State. Nor was he successful in securing enforcement of the eight-hour law which was evaded by government contractors" (p. 295). The detailed documentation throughout the work forces one to conclude that Theodore Roosevelt was definitely unfriendly to organized labor, considering it a threat to law and order.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University
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IBERO-AMERICAN HISTORY

A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands. By FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M., Associate Professor of Hispanic American History in the Catholic University of America. (Philadelphia: Catholic Historical Society. 1943. Pp. 106. Cloth $3.00; paper $2.50.)

An ever-increasing interest in the history of the Spanish Borderlands, stretching westward from Florida to the Pacific slopes of California and even as far northward as Alaska, inspired Dr. Steck to meet a manifold demand, "that is, to guide teachers, students, writers, lecturers, and librarians to the widely scattered materials dealing with this section of our history, especially in our periodical literature." For this purpose the compiler has combed the files of sixty-seven periodicals, some of which are strictly scientific magazines of history and others of which are popular publications, "notably when the author of the article in question was known to have elsewhere published scientific studies in the field of Spanish-American history." The same procedure was followed with regard to books, which though popular in form, were deemed worthy of inclusion for obvious reasons. The periodicals as listed by Dr. Steck in his "Key to Periodicals" include not only the obvious periodicals of the United States and of the borderland area in particular, but also periodicals published in such widely scattered places as Rome, Madrid, Mexico, Berlin, and Argentina. The result has been a very complete and partially critical bibliographical guide "to the periods when our southern and western borderlands were Spanish possessions."

This guide "comprises the following seven parts: (1) general and comprehensive works, covering either the entire region or some larger section thereof; (2) the half century of discovery and exploration by Spain, from 1513 to 1561; (3) Florida, from 1561 to 1819; (4) Louisiana, from 1763 to 1803; (5) Texas, from 1689 to 1836; (6) New Mexico and Arizona,

from 1581 to 1846; (7) California and the Northwest, from 1769 to 1846."

Under the first section mentioned above are included bibliographical data relating to eighty-one books and twenty-five articles. Of the total of 106 bibliographical references included under the first section, fifty-two are accompanied with critical appraisals or explanatory data. The usefulness of such a bibliographical list is obvious.

The procedure followed with reference to the works listed under the first part, dealing with general and comprehensive works covering the entire region or some larger section thereof, is followed with reference to the works listed under the other six parts as outlined above. It seems unnecessary, however, to analyze for further detail the other six parts above-mentioned.

Dr. Steck has placed all persons interested in the bibliography of the Southwest under lasting obligations to him for his comprehensive and scholarly publication.

CHARLES W. HACKETT

University of Texas

Bolivar. The Life of An Idealist. By EMIL LUDWIG. (New York: Alliance Book Corporation. 1942. Pp. ix, 362. $3.50.)

The Ludwig style and approach are too well known to warrant an analysis at this point. The general method followed in this study of Bolivar is that of *Napoleon, Bismarck, Lincoln, Hindenburg,* and all the gallery of Ludwig heroes who have been treated by his facile and often eloquent pen. This is his first portrait of a South American and lacks, to be sure, the touch that accompanied the treatment of the various and sundry Europeans whose lives have struck the fancy of this ex-German, present Swiss biographer.

One of the unfortunate aspects of this life of Bolivar is that every circumstance of its writing made it a partial and laudatory job. Ludwig was commissioned by the Academy of History of Caracas—a reputable group—to do the life. He was expected to exalt the Bolivarian legend, unquestionably. He was expected, in a word, to give literary form and the weight of his own reputation to a figure who has been dealt with frequently but not exhaustively. The official stamp sticks out all over the work. It was impossible for Ludwig to do a critical piece of work in the face of the formidable handicap of having to turn out something that would suit the patriots of the country of origin of the hero. The result is what one would expect: a standardized, conventional life of the hero with a lot of battle scenes left out. This gives it that curious and subtle psychological approach which some readers love.

There is a Bolivarian legend which is extremely potent. To such an extent has the cult of the Liberator reached extremes that one acute, and presumably disrespectful Venezuelan writer, whose name may best be left

unmentioned, speaks of the whole matter as the "Bolivarian industry." This is in no sense disrespectful of Bolivar—but merely of that army of little men who since his day have laboriously built up a silly and untenable collection of myths that do more harm than good. Moreover, the idea has managed to become general that Bolivar is above the category of the hero who can be criticized. He is so far *au dessu de la melée* that one has the impression he is close to deification. This is unfortunate and unnecessary. His task was great and his glory sure. There were things about him that ought to be examined critically, especially his ideas. To take Bolivar as a type of gospel from which no one can dissent without falling into gross heterodoxy, defeats the purpose of history and does a grievous disservice to Bolivar himself, who was very much of the flesh and not at all a candidate for a pedestal.

Ludwig goes at the problem with the verve and enthusiasm of a nineteenth-century liberal, somewhat *démodé*. All of the old and moth-eaten conventions are there. America is a world in slavery. Spain is terrible. France is the land of liberty. The French Revolution opens up the mind, soul, and spirit of mankind. There is no chiaroscuro. The biographer goes the whole hog and we get a revival of what most of us thought had long since gone by the boards—a distorted and amateurish version of the issues at stake at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

We have, for instance, references to "these Spanish priests, virtually independent of the Pope, wielded still greater power in the colonies than at home" (p. 7). Since when and under what circumstances? The issue of the day is nicely summed up in the following phrase: "For what other values could stand for a youth at the end of the eighteenth century if not freedom and equality, against which the great Catholic and feudal power of Spain stood arrayed, and above all, in the overseas dominions, whose gold and crops could only continue to stream into the mother country if, for yet a space, fifteen millions of native Americans were held in subjection?" (pp. 8-9).

To express it in current and not very elegant terms, this is so much balderdash. If this is the central theme of the biography, we know what to expect. Unhappily, as one reads on from eulogy to eulogy and from assertion to assertion, it is evident that the author has only the vaguest idea of the real situation of the Spanish domains at the time of independence and the foggiest idea of the course of Spanish history. Are we still going to be exposed to this absurd *leyenda negra* in this day and age? Subjection, indeed. The American colonists were precisely the ones who most strongly objected to independence until Spain revealed itself as utterly unable to carry on. The colonies broke away only after Spain abandoned them.

The reader of this review will logically expect after the above to have praise of Rousseau, the *Contrat Social*, and the like. He will not be disappointed. The text is stereotyped to the last degree. Bolivar's teacher is praised for taking the budding hero "straight back to nature", whatever that may mean. Bolivar was brought out into the light by his preceptors who showed him how the Spanish monarch had suppressed every intellectual advance for three hundred years and every desire for liberty (p. 12). If this were true, which it definitely is not, how would Mr. Ludwig explain the reluctance of the colonists in Buenos Aires and Quito, in Lima and Santiago, and especially in Mexico to lift a finger against Fernando VII until such a time as there was no longer a Spain? How would he explain the fact that the fundamental rebellion in Spanish America was touched off by the hatred of the Spanish Americans for the so-called liberalism of the Cortes of Cadiz?

To the biographer, Bolivar is the new Emile at every step. His hatred of Spanish authority is so acute according to Ludwig that, as an army officer, he had to "obtain the King's permission to marry, and obtain the blessing of the Church by prayer" (p. 25). This is an extraordinary state of affairs. Since when does not an army officer have to obtain such permission and since when is it such an outrageous abuse of authority as to arouse the ire and rancor of even a new Emile, to obtain the blessing of the Church upon receiving the sacrament of matrimony?

It would be possible to go on endlessly quoting excerpts of this kind. The presentation of Miranda; the relations with Bolivar and the motives behind Bolivar's every step toward the command of the insurgent forces, are depicted in this romantic way. It is unfortunate that a new life of Bolivar should be issued in this vein. There is too much of real importance in presenting the great South American liberator to revive a lot of legends and repeat a lot of super-charged romantic concepts that have nothing to do with the real issues of that day. It is too bad Emil Ludwig put pen to paper regarding a figure whose subtleties he obviously did not seize.

RICHARD PATTEE

Mexico, D. F.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held in Chicago during Christmas week of 1944. The exact dates have not been fixed, although it is likely they will be Wednesday and Thursday, December 27-28. Later in the year a local arrangements committee will be appointed by President Kiniery to handle the details for making this silver jubilee gathering a memorable one in the life of the Association.

The REVIEW is pleased to announce the appointment of two new Advisory Editors to its staff: Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., chairman of the Department of History at the University of Notre Dame, archivist of the University and Manoel da S. S. Cardozo, assistant professor of Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America, curator of its Lima Library. Father McAvoy's research has been in the field of American church history. His dissertation presented at Columbia University in 1940 dealt with the history of the Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834. He has since published several articles and has edited source material from his archives. Dr. Cardozo received his degree from Stanford University in 1939. His dissertation was concerned with the history of mining in colonial Brazil. He has written a number of articles on this and other phases of Brazilian history. Both of our new editors have for some time been making valuable contributions to our Notes and Comments.

The Office of the Secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association regrets that the name of the Most Reverend Richard O. Gerow, Bishop of Natchez, was inadvertently omitted from the membership list. Bishop Gerow has been a loyal member of the Association since 1925.

The anecdotes and episodes that illuminate the missionary career of Father Stephen Theodore Badin form some of the best and most interesting accounts of American frontier history. Whether he was in this country or back in Europe on a visit, he never seemed to lose an opportunity to be of service to the American missions. While living in Europe between the two active phases of his missionary career he was instrumental in bringing to the United States, among many other missionaries, a religious who was probably the only Beguine to work in America. Sister Adolphine Malingié had been a Beguine at Gand in Belgium before she decided to join two Poor Clares who were coming to America to found a convent in the back-

woods of the Diocese of Cincinnati. The career of the two Poor Clares, Sister Françoise Vindevoghle and Sister Victoire de Seilles, at Cincinnati, Detroit, and Green Bay from 1828 to 1839 was far from uneventful. The personality of Sister Françoise seems to have been uneven, and that fact more than anything else once almost caused Sister Adolphine to give up the notion of coming to America with them and then, after her arrival, to decide to remain in Cincinnati after the Poor Clares had departed. She served as directress of the Cincinnati cathedral choir, and Badin noted that she was a good singer. Of the history of the orthodox Beguines little is available to the general reader. One can, however, speculate about the utility and adaptability of their peculiar rule amidst the irregularities of the American frontier.

The attitude of Catholics during the Civil War cannot be properly understood without a careful examination of the actual membership of the various Catholic groups before 1860. Of the immigrants who had come into the country during the previous decades, the Irish and Germans ordinarily followed the political beliefs of the communities in which they settled. The great exception was the Irish in New York, who had been sheltered by the Democratic Party and who felt that the draft laws discriminated against them. There were, however, many Irish regiments of Federal troops who displayed remarkable bravery in the service. Since most of the Germans had settled in the North, they generally supported the Union. But the oldest Catholic settlers lived for the most part south of the Mason Dixon Line, in Maryland, Kentucky, Louisiana, and along the Mississippi River generally. Louisiana, particularly, was in the very heart of the Confederacy. In this connection a document, unsigned and written in an unidentified hand, in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame offers a Catholic evaluation of the new Southern Confederacy. It bears the title: "Examen de l'établissement de la confédération du Sud, au point de vue de la légitimité, de la constitutionalité et de la Religion," and seems to have been prepared for presentation to the Archbishop of New Orleans. No mention of the document has yet been found in contemporary accounts. The conclusion of the examination states that the cause of the Confederacy is the cause of "religion," of "truth," of "right," of "order," and of "justice," while the cause of the North is the cause of "revolution," of "untruth," of "injustice," of "violence," and of "disorder."

In reference to recent developments in Europe, a letter of Orestes A. Brownson to his son Henry, on January 1, 1867, the original of which is in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame, has more than passing interest. Referring to Maximilian, the unfortunate Emperor of Mexico, he writes: "Of public affairs you know as much as I. Things look now as if my prediction with regards to Mexico is likely to be fulfilled. Maxi-

millian [*sic*] stays in spite of the Liberals. Napoleon wishes to divert our attention from the Eastern Question, and prevent a close alliance between us and Russia. A general European War on the Eastern Question seems inevitable. I am on the side of Russia, and it is not impossible that if the war takes place our government may be drawn into it, as we have several bristly questions to settle with Great Britain and France, and our people sympathies with the Greeks; but if so, we shall fight on our own continent.

"Napoleon is alarmed at the prospective growth of Russia and the United States, and sees that it is necessary to combine all the old states of Europe against them. This is the key to his policy.

"But I apprehend that he comes too late, and that they are already strong enough to resist all his possible combinations. Great unitarian states are generally too strong for allied or confederate states. We shall take possession of the whole continent of America and probably the great battle for the empire of the world will ultimately be fought in Asia between us and present good friends the Russians. At any rate the expansion of these two great modern powers cannot be successfully resisted, and very soon their united diplomacy will be all powerful for the rest of the world. You may live to see it so, as well as the resuscitation of a Christ [ian] East."

Better Men for Better Times is a slender volume in which the Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America sets forth the purposes and ideals which have given direction and guidance to its various activities. The Right Reverend George Johnson and the Reverend Dr. Robert J. Slavin, O.P., collaborated in formulating these principles. The chapter headings are indicative of the volume's rich contents: The Basis of a Free Government, Society and Citizenship, The Fullness of Human Stature, The Cradle of Citizenship, "Our Daily Bread," The Church: The Mystical Body of Christ, The Government of a Free People, Education for Christian Social Living, and The Vision of a Better World. The book is intended for the guidance of Christian educators and for all who are interested in the social teachings of the Catholic Church. It can be obtained from the Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 17, D. C., for $1.00.

Democracy: Should It Survive? is a volume of papers issued by the William J. Kerby Foundation, Washington, D. C., and published by the Bruce Publishing Company. The Kerby Foundation is dedicated to furthering Christian social ideals, so ably formulated by the late Monsignor William J. Kerby, for years professor of sociology in the Catholic University of America. This volume flows from a conviction, expressed by Dr. Kerby, that our "democracy is primarily social, moral, and spiritual, and second-

arily political." Lest the title should disconcert and there should seem to be some debate, the writers of the volume affirm on the first printed page " that democracy should survive because the heart of American democracy is acceptance of the principle of the dignity of man as a human person." Besides a foreword by Thomas F. Woodlock there are thirteen essays in the volume. Anything touching on democracy has appeal for historians in present-day America. Our readers will find all these papers interesting. Some of the contributors write from the historical viewpoint. Professor Richard J. Purcell treats briefly but well of the " Background of the Declaration of Independence." Don Sturzo takes the historical approach in " Totalitarianism and the Dignity of Man." Walter Lippmann in an address reprinted from the *American Scholar* makes an appeal to history in " Man in American Education."

Volume XXXIII of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society contains a paper read at the Society's meeting on March 2, 1943, " The Church in South America," by W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., four historical essays, and the customary account of the Society's activities during the past year. Patrick D. O'Flaherty of Cardinal Hayes Memorial High School writes on the geographical growth of the Church in the United States by dioceses, a study accompanied by eight maps; Michael Kenny, S.J., of Spring Hill College, writes a corrective to an article by R. V. Ugarte, S.J., on " The First Jesuit Mission in Florida,"; John K. Sharp contributes an article on " The Acadian Confessors on Long Island, 1756-1764," and Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M., of St. Bonaventure College gives an historical sketch of that institution from its beginnings in 1855 down to the present time. The Society announces the publication for June, of a biography of Thomas F. Meehan, which has been prepared by Sister M. Natalena, of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Brentwood.

Beginning with the January issue, the *American Ecclesiastical Review* is being edited by the Faculty of the School of Sacred Theology of the Catholic University of America. The *Review* appears in a new format.

A *Catalogue of Publications* of the Catholic University of America Press, long out-of-print, has just been issued. Besides the dissertations listed as history, there are many of an historical nature under other headings. As collateral reading in colleges and seminaries these studies can do much to offset the evils of unsatisfactory or antiquated textbooks.

The annual report of the secretary of the Commission for the Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians, entitled: *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, was published in February. It is always an interesting document for church historians. The report this year shows an increase of 6428 in the total number of colored Catholics in the United States

over the 1943 total of 313,259, and a gain of 2481 in the total of Catholic Indians over the 94,085 reported a year ago. These annual reports, carefully compiled by John B. Tennelly, S.S., secretary of the Commission, will make valuable source material for the historian of the Church in years to come.

No teacher of American history must fail to read *American History in Schools and Colleges*, the report of the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944). Historians in other fields will derive more than a little profit from reading the report. Joseph R. Frese writes an extended appreciation of it in the March 4 issue of *America*. It will be noticed in greater detail in a later issue of the REVIEW.

The January number of the *William and Mary Quarterly* contains an appreciation of the late Charles McLean Andrews by L. W. Labaree, a bibliography of Andrews' works, and a posthumous article by Andrews on the writing of colonial history.

Volume 52 of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* covers the meeting of October 21, 1942. Besides the reports of the various officers of the Society this volume contains a lengthy paper on "Four Late Eighteenth Century Anglo-American Landscape Painters" by J. Hall Pleasants. It is a painstaking study which would seem to be well-nigh exhaustive on the work of these artists. The painters concerned are George and Mary Beck, William Groombridge, Francis Guy, and William Winstanley. A second major contribution to this volume of the *Proceedings* is Edward Alexander Parsons' critical edition of "The Letters of Robert R. Livingston," which were directed in the main by Livingston, American minister to Paris at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, to Rufus King, American minister to London. This exchange of correspondence between the two ministers relating to the purchase of Louisiana began in December, 1801, and ran through the final negotiations with Bonaparte's government to May, 1803.

Professor Gilbert Chinard continues to edit the interesting and useful brochures of the Institut Français de Washington. The latest is a series of extracts from Tocqueville's *De la Démocratie en Amérique*. In this instance the extracts have to do with Tocqueville's views concerning the possibility of survival of republican institutions in the United States, some considerations on America's commercial future, etc. Professor Chinard provides the customary preface and bibliographical note and the Princeton University Press puts the brochure into attractive dress.

The January number of the *Vermont Quarterly* is devoted to a symposium on "The Value and Uses of History."

The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City is holding an exhibition, March 20-May 20, of Religious Symbolism in Illuminated Manuscripts. More than a hundred manuscripts dating from the ninth through the sixteenth century are on display.

The *Sixteenth Annual Report* (1942-1943) of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery indicates a growing devotion at that institution to American and especially to California history.

The January issue of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* publishes a list of M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations relating to history presented at the University of Washington. Titles from 1905 to the present are given. They include historical topics treated in the departments of social work, geography, business administration, political science, sociology, economics, and anthropology as well as history. Typewritten copies are available in the University library. Since 1932 abstracts of the dissertations have been published in *University of Washington Publications, Theses Series.*

In the same issue William L. Davis, S.J., of Gonzaga University continues the series of detailed and well-documented articles he has been contributing from time to time to the *Quarterly* during the past three years on the missionary journeys of Father DeSmet. The present article is devoted to the journey of 1840. One of the most valuable features of these articles is the full notes given by Father Davis on the geographical data covering the area through which DeSmet traveled.

Those interested in the application of Catholic principles to post-war planning should not pass over Philip Hughes, *The Pope's New Order,* J. W. Naughton, *Pius XII on World Problems,* Michael O'Shaughnessy, *Peace and Reconstruction,* and H. C. Koenig's selections from papal documents entitled *Principles for Peace.*

Among the papers presented at the Family Life Conference held at the Catholic University of America, February 29-March 2, one by Constantine McGuire was of particular interest to historians. Dr. McGuire's paper dealt with reproduction rates from the middle of the fifteenth century to the present. His statistics and estimates covered the world as a whole and he discussed the economic results of the population trends. All the papers read at the meeting will be published.

The December number of *Franciscan Studies* is devoted, as usual, to the subject discussed at the annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference. The subject of the meeting held last summer was: The Existence and Knowability of God. Among the papers of special interest to historians are Father Ambrose Ryan's "The Knowledge of God attainable by Human Reason, according to the Vatican Council"; Father Donald Shearer's "God and the Founding Fathers"; and Father Felix M. Kirsch's "Trend in the Belief in God among Our Scholars and in Our Schools."

Anonymous donors in Manitoba and Minnesota are offering $1000 as a prize for an "impartial" United States-Canadian history textbook. They wish to teach elementary and high school students on both sides of the border the same version of the same events and thus promote mutual good will between the two nations.

A recent report issued by the American Council on Education is entitled *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials*. It makes a number of specific recommendations aimed to remedy inadequate and faulty methods in teaching matters pertaining to Latin America. Among other things the report gives serious attention to the religious aspects of the problem. Father W. Eugene Shiels discusses the report in the March 25 number of *America*.

The formal opening of the Academy of American Franciscan History will take place in Washington, D. C., on April 18. Speakers at the afternoon and evening meetings will include Messrs. Herbert E. Bolton, John Tate Lanning, Carlos Castañeda, France V. Scholes, and José Manuel Espinosa.

The Historical Commission for the cause of canonization of Father Junípero Serra, founder of the California missions, has been named. It includes Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, chairman; the Reverend Dr. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., archivist of Mission Santa Barbara and member of the Academy of American Franciscan History; and Monsignor Culleton, chancellor of the Diocese of Fresno and Monterey, California. The work of the Commission has already begun. The letters of Serra, edited by Father Maximin Piette, O.F.M., are ready for publication. Father Geiger is working on a life of Serra; he also intends to make a new translation of Palou's life of the pioneer priest. Dr. Bolton and Father Geiger, with Father Eric O'Brien as vice-postulator, will soon leave for Mexico to do research on Serra in the archives there.

Last year Mr. Paul V. Murray, principal of the American School in Mexico City, delivered a lecture at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Mexico on the need for a new attitude toward the nineteenth-century history of Mexico ("La necesidad de una actitud revisionista anté la historia de México en el siglo diecinueve," *Jus: Revista de derecho y ciencias sociales*, México, No. 61, August, 1943). By thus questioning the builders of Mexico's own "leyenda negra," Mr. Murray has called the attention of scholars to one of the most unfortunate aspects of Mexican historiography.

Among the recent accessions at The National Archives are records of the Spanish regime in Puerto Rico, 1750-1898, transferred from the Library of Congress.

The first centenary of the independence of the Dominican Republic is being widely celebrated this year. The occasion is giving rise to the publication of many historical monographs.

Artur Maciel plans to publish a book on Pero do Campo Tourinho, one of the original donataries of sixteenth-century Brazil. A chapter from the new work appeared in a recent issue of *Atlântico* (Lisbon-Rio, No. 3, 1943).

The prize of 10,000 *pesos* for the best book on Brazil by an Argentinian published during the past two years was awarded to Ricardo Saens Hayes for his *Brasil moderno*.

For those who, like Professor Lawrence Hill of Ohio State University, are interested in the history of our Confederate émigrés to Brazil, the documents published under the title of "Imigração Norte-Americana para o Brasil" in the June, 1943 number of the *Revista de Imigração e Colonização* of Rio de Janeiro will be most welcome.

J. de Sousa-Leão, minister-counselor of the Brazilian Embassy, London, has published a number of important Southey letters, with an introduction, in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (vol. 178, January-March, 1943).

Father André Prat, Carmelite historian of Brazil, died recently.

The first centenary of the founding of the Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay, Montevideo, was celebrated in 1943.

Nelson García Serrato, chief of the Division of International Treaties, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Montevideo, has been commissioned to write the official diplomatic history of Uruguay.

Volume I, No. 1 (January-June, 1943) of *Archivum: Revista de la Junta de Historia Eclesiástica Argentina* has just arrived. It contains 382 pages with seven lengthy articles, five shorter ones, and a section devoted to texts, notes, and communications; besides a book review section it has a bibliography of recent publications in Argentina church history. An introductory notice states the objectives of the new association and its *Revista*. They are directed solely to the ecclesiastical history of Argentina. The articles of this first number of the review are listed in our Periodical Literature. The subscription price for the review is twelve pesos per annum, and the address of the treasurer is Dr. Adolfo M. Díaz, Alsina 840, Buenos Aires. The association is also launching two series of publications: one of documents and another of studies. Archbishop Nicolás Fasolino of Santa Fe is president of the Junta, Father G. Furlong, S.J., the vice-president, and

Father F. C. Actis, the secretary. The American Catholic Historical Association and its REVIEW wish the new project every success after this very promising beginning.

José Torre Revello, director of research of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Buenos Aires, has prepared a very useful description of important Spanish-American materials in the library of the Royal Palace of Madrid (largely of interest for the history of the Viceroyalty of La Plata) under the title of *Biblioteca de palacio en Madrid* (Buenos Aires: Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, No. LXXXIII, 1942).

The Holy See, through the Apostolic Nuncio in Lima, has made a gift of books to the new Peruvian National Library, thus co-operating in the rebuilding of the library destroyed by fire.

The Instituto Superior de Pedagogía y Letras, Guayaquil, Ecuador, of which Dr. Carlos E. Hurtado Flor is rector, published the first number of its new review, *Prorsus*, in September, 1943. The articles, including several on historical subjects, were prepared by members of the Instituto's faculty.

Juan Mujica de la Fuente, librarian of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Santiago, and professor of the University of Chile, has been awarded the first prize for the best historical work on Curicó in connection with the celebration of the second centenary of the founding of the Chilean city (1743-1943). His book, *Antigüedades curicanas* (Curicó, 1943), is made up of a series of interesting studies on local history.

Volume XXV, Fourth Series, of the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* contains the presidential address of F. M. Stenton and five important papers. Professor Stenton writes of the light that is thrown on the position of women in Anglo-Saxon society by place-name studies. C. T. Flower reports on "Manuscripts and the War." He tells how manuscripts and documents were evacuated to places of greater safety; how the paper salvage drive was regulated to spare valuable historical material; and how private repositories were aided in the endeavor to save their collections. It is gratifying to know that losses due to the war have not been very great. Professor R. F. Treharne treats the "Baronial Reform Movement, 1258-1267"—"the first deliberate and conscious political revolution in English history." F. L. Carsten in the Alexander Prize Essay deals with the conflict between the aristocratic aldermen and the gilds in the Brandenburg towns during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. E. R. Brinkworth exploits Oxford records (1566-1759) to show the value of archdeacons' court records. Professor Lillian M. Penson discusses "The New Course in British Foreign Policy, 1892-1902."

Miss Dorothy M. Vaughan in a letter appearing in the September number of *History* makes a plea for the teaching of history on an archaeological basis. She maintains that it would encourage besides a sense of the reality of the past, the habit of observation, intellectual honesty, and a critical spirit. There is no need of introducing special courses in archaeology into the lower schools, but teachers of history should acquire some general knowledge of archaeology in their preparation. The subject should, of course, not be confined to teachers of ancient and mediaeval history.

The articles on Greece in the *National Geographic Magazine* for March, 1944, would appear to be very useful for teachers of ancient history. Especially noteworthy are the thirty-two full-page paintings with their commentaries.

Monsignor William F. O'Brien has written the history of Immaculate Conception Parish at Durham, North Carolina, in a brochure which tells of Catholic growth in that university town from the arrival of the first known Catholic resident of Durham, Mrs. James Lawrence, in 1871, to the present time. The priests of the parish have been active now for some years in taking care of the spiritual needs of Catholic students at both Duke University and the University of North Carolina. Monsignor O'Brien was the first resident priest in Durham.

St. Patrick's Parish, Washington, D. C., celebrated the 150th anniversary of its founding on March 17. It dates its official history from April 17, 1794, when Father Anthony Caffrey, the first pastor, purchased several lots that are still part of the parish property. The parish has had three churches in its long life. The present structure was dedicated by Archbishop Gibbons on December 28, 1884. St. Patrick's has numbered among its parishioners the names of men famous in our national history such as Major Pierre L'Enfant, designer of the plans for the capital city, James Hoban, architect of the White House, Robert Brent, first mayor of Washington, and Roger B. Taney, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1836 to 1864. William Matthews, second pastor of St. Patrick's, served for a half-century in the office besides acting as apostolic administrator of the Diocese of Philadelphia during a vacancy in that see. Charles Constantine Pise, chaplain of the United States Senate, was an assistant at St. Patrick's as also was John J. Keane, first Rector of the Catholic University of America. Dennis Stafford, famous as a preacher and lecturer, was pastor from 1901-1908, and was then succeeded by William T. Russell who acted in this capacity until 1916 when he was made Bishop of Charleston. Many notable ecclesiastical functions have taken place in the parish, among them the consecration of Thomas O'Gorman, professor of church history in the Catholic University of America, as

Bishop of Sioux Falls on April 19, 1896. It was in this same church that the silver jubilee Mass of the University was celebrated on April 15, 1916. St. Patrick's remains as the center of Catholic devotion for down-town Washington. Its present pastor, Monsignor Lawrence J. Shehan, has served since the death of Monsignor Thomas in 1941.

The centennial of the death of Edward Kavanagh occurred on January 22. Kavanagh was governor of Maine in the 1840's, the first Catholic to be a member of a New England legislature and the first Catholic elected to the House of Representatives from New England.

The Very Reverend Anthony Viéban, S.S., rector of the Theological College of the Catholic University of America, died on January 28. Father Viéban was just three weeks beyond his seventy-second birthday at the time of his death. He was ordained on June 29, 1895, at Tulle, France, and three years later came to the United States. He was identified with the Sulpician seminaries of Boston, Baltimore, and Washington for nearly a half century. He was not a professional historian, having taken his doctorate in canon law at the Catholic Institute in Paris, where he had Pietro Cardinal Gasparri for one of his professors. However, there were few men who knew more intimately the history of the Church in our country and few who more thoroughly identified themselves with its cause and the spirit of the American Church than he. His passing called forth extraordinary manifestations of the regard in which he was held throughout the land among bishops, priests, and laity, and his funeral, held from the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, on February 2, was one of the largest in the memory of the University community. He was a contributor to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and to a number of Catholic periodicals in the early part of the century. His article, "Who Are the Modernists of the Encyclical?" in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXVIII (May, 1908), is still used by students of the Modernist movement.

Monsignor Joseph Wilpert, prothonotary apostolic, died in Rome at the age of eighty-six. He was born at Eiglau, Silesia. Connected with the Papal Institute for Christian Archaeology, his great contribution was his publication in color plates of the paintings of the catacombs, of the mosaics of the basilicas, and of the Christian sarcophagi.

The Reverend Joseph Schmidlin, an Alsatian by birth, died recently at the age of sixty-seven. He was a professor at Münster i. W. until he was retired by the Nazi government. His writings were chiefly on mission history and theory. Two of these works have been translated into English. He was probably most widely known for his *Papstgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*.

Oswald Redlich, 86, author and historian, and president of the Austrian Academy of Science until the advent of the Nazis, died in Vienna on February 15.

Arpad Steiner, associate professor of German in Hunter College, died early this year. Dr. Steiner was deeply interested in historical research and was active in the work of the Mediaeval Academy of America. His most important publication was an edition of the *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* of Vincent of Beauvais. One of his articles appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review* in January, 1942.

Dr. James A. B. Scherer, 73, noted historian, and president of the California Institute of Technology from 1908 to 1920, died on February 15.

Dr. Mary W. Williams, professor emeritus of Latin-American history at Goucher College, died on March 10. She was well-known in her field of study as the author of books on American isthmian diplomacy, Dom Pedro II, emperor of Brazil, and the general history of Latin America.

Documents

Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister (*concl.*). (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, Dec.).—The Calvert-Stier Correspondence (*concl.*). William D. Hoyt, Jr. (*ibid.*).—Lettres de l'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain à Francis Parkman (*Le Canada Français*, Dec. and Feb.).—Two letters, one addressed to the Reverend Joseph Ferdinand Mueller, secretary of the Ludwig-Missionsverein, by Bishop Henni, the other addressed to Archbishop Reisach, president of the Society, by the Reverend Michael Heiss. Peter Leo Johnson (Ed.) (*Salesianum*, Jan.).—Some further documents concerning the history of the Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino of Guatemala. (*Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Guatemala*, Sept.).—Agreement between ó Domhnaill and Tadhg ó Conchobhair concerning Sligo Castle (23 June 1539). Maura Carney (*Irish Histor. Stud.*, Mar. 1943).

BRIEF NOTICES

BINING, ARTHUR CECIL. *The Rise of American Economic Life.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xii, 732. $4.00.)

The editor of *The Social Studies* offers us a general introduction to American economic life. Starting with a survey of conditions and trade routes in the Middle Ages by way of background, he traces the origin, growth, and expansion of our economic life and activities from the beginning to the end of 1942. Only in so far as social, diplomatic, and political events are essential to, or greatly facilitate, the understanding and appraisal of economic factors and developments, is attention accorded them. Technological developments are stressed because of the author's conviction that they affected farming, transportation, business, and society no less than industry itself. Well-chosen maps, charts, graphs, illustrations, and cartoons abound, add to the interest, and make for a ready understanding of the text. The thirty-three pages of bibliography are up-to-date and exhaustive; they form an excellent guide for further reading and investigation. The style is clear; the text is easy reading. Dr. Bining's book should win wide favor among general readers as well as students of the subject. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

BINKLEY, WILFRED E. *American Political Parties: Their Natural History.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1943. Pp. xi, 407. $3.75.)

If one has a rather good grasp of American history, he will get a great deal of stimulation and satisfaction from this book. Dr. Binkley presupposes the background; he furnishes the substance which holds the events together. He does not attempt to present a general history; instead, he stresses the national developments which have brought forth the various political parties and the leaders who have been determinants in our national life. Markedly free from bias, possessed of humor as well as of facts, the author well deserved the Knopf fellowship in history which was won for him by this volume.

Although the work is concerned with political parties as definite entities, the stress is placed upon the professed policies of politicians, from Jefferson to Franklin D. Roosevelt. The significant utterances and programs have been carefully selected. Unequivocal sentences at times express what would otherwise have required a page. We have the blunt remarks by Jefferson, urging the infant nation "'to practice neither commerce nor navigation but to stand with respect to Europe precisely on the footing of China'", and again, his judgment relative to banks, "'Banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies'" (pp. 64, 66). The material on Jackson is quite good, but the treatment of Lincoln is even better. Douglas is given credit for being the great American that he was; the change in the attitude of business and industry to the Republican Party is made clear. A careful study is made

of the relation of Cleveland to the Democratic Party. Cleveland's apparent domination by Olney in connection with the Pullman strike of 1894 is implied, and is admittedly a dark mark against Cleveland. The author doubts that religion was a determining factor in the election of 1928 and gives good reasons for his stand. He considers Franklin D. Roosevelt as "the most inveterate opportunist" of all our political leaders, but does not make any prophecy relative to the 1944 elections. A rich bibliography of source and secondary material, and a well-prepared index, furnish additional reasons why this reviewer strongly recommends the book to all interested in our governmental system. (PAUL KINIERY)

CLARKE, MARY PATTERSON, Professor of History in Beaver College. *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies.* [Yale Historical Publications *Miscellany*, XLIV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 303. $3.00.)

This is a broad study of the evolution of parliamentary privilege in the representative bodies of the colonies which shows interesting and significant parallels with the development of parliamentary rights and their application in the mother country. As in England, there was on this side difference of opinion as to the basis and origin of privileges. There, it was a conflict between King and Parliament that arose to establish and maintain those privileges; here the growth of parliamentary rights caused controversies between assembly and the executive power as vested in the governor. In addition, the British Parliament was unwilling to share its powers with the new and distant organizations created through charters, commissions, or instructions.

Modeling themselves upon the Mother of Parliaments, the assemblies acted as courts and as such assumed appellate jurisdiction; and the speaker's petition upon election demanded for himself and members such privileges as freedom from arrest and of speech, access to the governor, and other rights which in time were incorporated into statute law with appropriate penalties for violations. Again following the example of Parliament, the colonial assembly early asserted and exercised the right to supervise its membership and to judge of the qualifications of its members, in spite of the attempts of the governor to interfere with these prerogatives through his authority to administer oaths, to issue writs of election, and to erect election districts. Likewise, as in Parliament, the house exercised control over its members in such matters as the establishment of a quorum, procedure, conduct, the right to punish for contempt, etc.

The author sees in the assembly's insistence upon its privileges the growth of a more independent spirit toward the British body which increased as the Revolution neared, an outlet for the expression of political opinion, and in spite of differences, a tendency toward unity. Miss Clarke has supported her thesis with copious references to English and colonial cases. She has worked carefully to produce a satisfactory contribution to an understanding of the development of parliamentary rights and privileges in America. But one slip was noted: in note 42, page 153, for "S." L. Sioussat read "G". L. (LEO F. STOCK)

CRAFFORD, F. S. *Jan Smuts.* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. 1943. Pp. xi, 322. $3.50.)

A national history in one biography! That could be said more properly of the life of Jan Christian Smuts than of the life of any other contemporary. For almost fifty years he has been in the saddle, either leading his people, or riding beside the leaders, guiding them down his planned paths or checking their careers in other directions. Smuts' dream has always been union; first, for South Africa, in whose unity his has been a dominant hand; then for the British Commonwealth of Nations, which has found Smuts near the top in all its great crises; and lastly for the world. He worked hard for the League of Nations in the last war, and is still pointing his finger in the direction of a practical peace.

Mr. Crafford gives us an excellent, impartial biography, with a reserved scholarly tone (though he falls into the modern error of omitting references). He has none of the flash of the rapidly moving correspondent who visits a country, talks to a few chosen souls—through an interpreter—and comes home to write his book with the 'whole' situation at his fingertips.

The author, an Afrikaans-speaking resident of the Union, gives the impression throughout of complete familiarity with his material. He is hard on Smuts when the facts are hard on him. He rates the General's military skill more highly than others have done. He spends too much time trying to interpret the Prime Minister through his principles of holistic philosophy. Historians will find this an interesting and helpful addition to the history of South Africa. Americans will be amused by the typically British attitude towards Foch's counterattack in 1918. After all, there were a few Americans somewhere in France that summer and autumn. (W. B. FAHERTY)

CROUSE, NELLIS M. *The French Struggle for the West Indies, 1665-1713.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 324. $4.00.)

Though the French and the English began to realize in the sixteenth century the possibilities opened by the discovery of new lands beyond the Atlantic, some decades elapsed before Spain began to feel the full force of their desire to share in what she regarded as her exclusive domain. As long as her rivals confined their attention to the Atlantic coast of North America their rivalry, though resented, was less keenly felt than when they extended their operations to the Caribbean area and to the mainland of South America. Then the danger to Spain's American empire was more acutely felt and by the middle of the seventeenth century Spain realized that the exclusion of the rest of the world from Spanish dominions could not be effectively maintained and that some sort of *modus vivendi* was inevitable. From that date down to the end of the Napoleonic wars the history of the Caribbean shows Spain becoming less important, the struggle being waged mainly between France and England. The Dutch were also concerned, but they were less interested in territorial conquest and more intent on securing and retaining opportunities for trade. Their holdings in the West Indies have in consequence never been so extensive as those of the English or the French, but their influence is perceptible throughout the period.

The details of the struggle during the half century from 1665 are set forth in the present volume with care and accuracy and with considerable effectiveness. But since the military operations occupy most of the author's attention the book is military history rather than diplomatic history. As military history it is extremely well done and provides in convenient and readable form information which the student, military or non-military, will require. But it needs to be supplemented by the study of the political and commercial situations in Europe that led the governments of France and England to expend so much effort in endeavoring to secure control of islands, some of them small and of slight value in themselves, so far from Europe and at first seeming so little related to its fortunes. Without a clear grasp of what was going on in the minds of the statesmen and the merchants at home, the achievements of armies and of fleets are but a glamorous and thrilling romance.

A little more development of the politico-commercial aspect of the subject with a corresponding decrease of the space allotted to the activities of generals and of admirals would have heightened the value of the book, which as it stands, needs to be supplemented by a treatment of the period somewhat along the lines of Bemis' *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. What counts in the capture of a place is not the picturesque details of the fight but why there was a fight at all. (EDWIN RYAN)

FISCHER, ERIC. *The Passing of the European Age: A Study of the Transfer of Western Civilization and Its Renewal in Other Countries*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xiii, 214. $2.50.)

Although the nature of this study offers occasion for enthusiasm to run rampant, the pessimistic attitude on Europe's declining influence on western civilization is only too readily deduced. Dr. Fischer, whose main interest is the expansion of Europeans into Latin America, the British Dominions, the United States, and Asiatic Russia (he has avoided as impertinent the renascent Oriental civilizations), concludes from study of the migrations and cultural interactions of the last century that Europe's predominating influence in spheres social and economic is definitely on the wane. The two World Wars have simultaneously hastened this loss of European prestige and increased the cultural supremacy of the virile young nations abroad. By an analogy between the pre-Christian evolution of classic Greek into Hellenistic civilization, the author is able to sustain his thesis that civilizations, in surroundings remote from the old centers, are often continued in a new environment.

The author's treatment of the Church's catholicity falls occasionally into misrepresentation. His observation that "the organization of parts of the Catholic Church in national units seems rather accidental" (p. 144) is correct, but he does not retain the same clearness of vision when evaluating the Church's method of adjusting its catholicity to regional customs. Therefore a misrepresentation of Leo XIII's *Testem Benevolentiae* is offered by making no reference to Cardinal Gibbons' reply to the Pope. The treatment of the Aglipay episode in the Philippines likewise indicates a disappointing neglect of historical veracity.

Not all are agreed that pragmatism and behaviorism are commendable American contributions to western civilization. "At the end of the Dark Ages, Jewish scholars brought Aristotle back to Europe" (p. 198) in corrupt texts! These criticisms and a pair of typographical errors: "Britsh" (p. 30) and "emgirants" (p. 167), do not mar an able presentation of a phase of modern trends. (ARTHUR A. COLKIN)

GARDNER, MONICA M. *Kościuszko. A Biography.* Revised Second Edition edited by Mary Corbridge. (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1942. Pp. xi, 148. $2.50.)

The reissue of this book in revised form twenty-two years after its first publication indicates that it has neither lost its importance nor outlived its purpose. Intended as an informative sketch drawn from the chief printed sources, it supplies the fullest portrayal in English of the man whom Americans cherish in victory and Poles revere in defeat. To the former he has endeared himself by his service at Saratoga, West Point, and in the Carolinas; to the latter he has become a symbol of disinterested love of country and a profound belief in the equality of all before the law. Combining the democratic idealism of Jefferson and the military leadership of Washington, Kościuszko merits the title of the Father of Free Poland, for, even though his struggle for Polish independence failed, his ideas and example have proved a constant inspiration to his countrymen.

Following in the main the standard life by the Polish historian, Tadeusz Korzon, this small volume makes frequent use of quotations from Kościuszko's correspondence and proclamations. Its value for students of American history would be further enhanced, however, by the inclusion of the studies of Martin I. J. Griffin, Wladyslaw M. Kozlowski, and D. Szopinski in the short selected bibliography. (JOSEPH SWASTEK)

GOODRICH, CARRINGTON L., Associate Professor of Chinese, Columbia University. *A Short History of the Chinese People.* (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1943. Pp. xv, 260. $2.50.)

At a time when our ally, China, is attracting the attention of the world in a heroic defence against our common foe, it is pleasant to welcome this work. Professor Goodrich has given us in concise form a history of the Chinese people that will attract the ordinary reader and be a helpful summary for the student in that field.

The author begins with the prehistoric period. In passing, the assumption of materialistic evolution in the first two pages is to be regretted. Then in nine chapters there pass before the reader in rapid and colorful procession the periods of the Shang and the Chou princes and the empire of the Ch'in with its unification and organization and that of the Han and imperial expansion. Then more than three centuries of political disunion are put to an end with the advent of the Sui and the T'ang dynasties. Again, a long period of disunion at the end of which the Mongols established the Yuan dynasty, during which the drama flourished. Of special interest during the reign of the Ming is the entry into China of Father Matteo Ricci. This was the beginning of the

Jesuit Mission, illuminated for over a century by many brilliant men, notably Verbiest and Schall. The peace preserved by the Manchu dynasty allowed the economic life of the nation to develop until the beginning of the nineteenth century. From then on it is a sad story of mismanagement and political purblindness until the overthrow of the regime and the establishment of the republic in 1912. The republic has had a chequered existence, but, thanks partly to Japanese aggression, national unity has been strengthened.

Maps and illustrations, suggestions for supplementary reading, a chronological table and chart, and an index add to the use and attractiveness of the book. (EDWARD HAGEMANN.)

HAIMAN, MIECISLAUS. *Kościuszko in the American Revolution.* (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. 1943. Pp. vii, 198. $3.00.)

The author of this monograph holds an established place in Polish American historical circles. By his well-documented studies of Polish pioneers in colonial, revolutionary, and pre-Civil War America, he has indebted himself to all students of American history. This indebtedness is further increased by the present volume—an exhaustive and authoritative account of Kościuszko's first sojourn in America covering the years from 1776 to 1784. The second, much shorter stay of 1797-98, is to form the subject of another monograph at present under preparation by Mr. Haiman.

Relying upon manuscript and printed sources, the author describes in detail the events and achievements that filled the eight years of Kościuszko's service and residence in revolutionary America. He recounts not only his military and engineering exploits in the northern and southern campaigns at Ticonderoga, Saratoga, West Point, Ninety Six, and Charleston, but also his civic and personal interests and activities—his opinion of conditions prevailing on the American home front, his attitude toward the Conway Cabal, his view of the Deane-Paine controversy, and his *affaire d'honneur* with John Carter.

Also of value and interest are the author's corrections of hitherto accepted beliefs regarding various aspects of Kościuszko's life and service in America. For example: Kościuszko received his initial military appointment not from Washington, whom he met for the first time probably at West Point after nearly nine months' service in the patriot army, but from the Continental Congress. Again, despite his warm intimacy with Gates, Kościuszko remained on friendly though not cordial terms with Washington. Further, contrary to common opinion, Kościuszko was not present at the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown, nor did he ever receive American citizenship.

The author has provided his monograph with an exhaustive bibliography, which would have been given more systematic form by a division of the book and periodical references, and with a very detailed index sure to win him the plaudits of many a researcher, since it makes readily available any item of information to be found in the work. (JOSEPH SWASTEK)

HALECKI, O. *The Crusade of Varna: A Discussion of Controversial Problems.* [Polish Institute Series, No. 3.] (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. 1943. Pp. 96.)

Most historians have held that Ladislas, King of Poland and Hungary, signed and swore to an armistice at Szeged with the Turkish Sultan, Murad II, a few days before he turned around and issued his manifesto from the same town calling for the crusade which ended in the disaster of Varna. Antoni Prochaska, the Polish historian, challenged the accuracy of this opinion more than forty years ago. He, however, found no converts until Professor Halecki was able to correlate the known sources with the recently-discovered letters of the Italian humanist, Cyriacus of Ancona, which were published by the Rumanian historian, Francis Pall, in 1937, and which are reprinted in the appendix of this monograph.

It is these letters that make it clear that it was the peace talks at Adrianople, until now not known to have been held there, which have been responsible for the origin of the "legend of the Szeged treaty and the King's perjury" (p. 57). As a result of the negotiations at Adrianople an armistice was agreed upon on June 12, 1444, between the Sultan and the representatives of King Ladislas, the Despot of Serbia, George Brankovich, and the Voivode of Transylvania, John Hunyadi. The armistice was, however, to have no effect as far as Ladislas was concerned until he himself had signed it. A Turkish embassy met the king for that purpose at Szeged either during the last days of July or the first days of August. We are in the dark as to the detail of the discussions. But we do know now that the king did not sign and swear to an armistice at Szeged. Instead, he issued his well-known manifesto on August 4, 1444, for the renewal of the crusade. The Serbian Despot Brankovich did, however, make peace with the Turk and, therefore, did not participate in the ensuing hostilities, the story of which is outside the scope of Professor Halecki's study. (VICTOR GELLHAUS)

HILTON, RONALD. *Four Studies in Franco-Spanish Relations.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. 57. $1.25.)

These four studies, in the order of their appearance, are: "A Fundamental Michelet Antithesis: North Versus South, France Versus Spain," "Auvergne and Spain," "Spaniards in Avignon in the Eighteenth Century," and "L'Abbé Béliardi: A Mysterious Italian Intriguer in Franco-Spanish Eighteenth-Century Diplomacy." The first paper is particularly worthwhile, written with a great deal of charm and penetration; the others are snippets, "poor relics of a vast study" which the author had projected on Franco-Spanish relations from 1700 to 1931 before a bomb thrown during the Spanish Civil War destroyed "the great mass of the material collected. . . ."

Mr. Hilton says that Michelet should be chastized for writing arrogantly about Spain, a country he apparently never visited. Yet Michelet was almost inevitably led to do it if his division of Europe into a northern and a southern half was to hold; his interpretation of history was conditioned by this antithesis. In his scheme of things, France was influenced by her neighbor,

else she would have sided decisively with the northern nations, for Spain was the archtype of much that was decadent and bad. Spain, Michelet wrote, suffered the consequences of absolute monarchy, and the responsibility for that form of government he laid at the door of his great obsession, the Catholic Church. Michelet hated the Church and the Inquisition; and he hated the Jews and the Arabs, whom he considered guilty of undermining the civilization of mediaeval Spain. In effect, mediaeval Spain was to him African, not European; and it was the channel "through which the true (i.e., French) medieval culture was poisoned." This was the calamity of France, for her genius was inimical to the Spanish character. The gash which Roland inflicted on the mountains with a slash of Durendal, Mr. Hilton says, was symbolical of that antipathy. As Michelet put it: "C'est le symbole du combat éternel de la France et de l'Espagne, qui n'est autre que celui de l'Europe et de l'Afrique."

It is a pity that Mr. Hilton will not be able to give us other fruits of his researches in Europe. The problem of Franco-Spanish relations, especially since 1700, is an engrossing one, and it deserves careful attention. (MANOEL DA SILVEIRA CARDOZO)

HITTI, PHILIP K. *The Arabs. A Short History.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 224. $2.00.)

The conflict with the Axis powers along the Mediterranean shore has brought American soldiers into the land of the Moslems and the Moslem people themselves into the widening orbit of American interests and preoccupations. This circumstance offers an inviting opportunity for Americans to make closer acquaintance with the history of a people who have contributed much to western culture but who have hitherto remained distant strangers. Hence the publishers thought it timely to address very directly to the American general reader this excellent digest of Professor Hitti's monumental *History of the Arabs*, the second edition of which appeared from the Macmillan presses in 1940.

Within the brief compass of 216 pages, this little volume tells the epic history of the nomads who from time immemorial had lived almost unknown in the rock-strewn fringe of the Arabian desert, but who in the seventh century, under Mohammed's leadership, went forth a conquering people that flung itself across the current of European history. They considerably deflected its course after that power had rapidly established itself in the fertile crescent from Bagdad to Cordova, shattered the Mediterranean unity of the Roman Empire and, for well-nigh four centuries, made the Mediterranean Sea practically an Arabian lake.

Told with picturesque vividness and zestful sympathy, the story makes easy and enjoyable reading. Compression has been achieved without distortion; chronological distances and landmarks have been kept clear, and otherwise mystifying Arabic names have been made intelligible by descriptive tagging. The cultural achievements of the Arabs, their science, and fine arts, are given generous attention; and, the preoccupation being to find a common ground of interest between America and the Arabians, particular stress is laid upon

the latter's contributions to the civilization of the West. Admitting all these, especially in the field of medicine and mathematics, it is, however, drawing a rather long bow to state that, "No people in the Middle Ages contributed to human progress so much as did the Arabs" (p. 2). This is certainly an overstatement, particularly as we well know that the denizens of the desert fringe started out with no real culture of their own but progressed on what they borrowed, and that, quite independently of the Arabs, the mediaeval schools and the institutions of the Church were playing vitally important civilizing roles. (DEMETRIUS B. ZEMA)

HUDSON, MANLEY O. (Ed.). *World Court Reports.* Vol. IV, *1936-1942.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 513. $2.50.)

Professor Manley O. Hudson presents the latest and, we hope, not the final volume of the series of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in this edition of the judgments, orders, and opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The present volume covers the court's work during the years 1936 to 1940, when its labors were halted by the war. Professor Hudson, elected judge of the Permanent Court in October, 1936, was actively engaged in the judicial functions of the court in the whole period covered by this volume.

During these seven years the court handed down eight judgments and sixteen orders. No advisory opinions were given in these sessions. Unfortunately for the rapid development of international adjudication, the advisory power has been less and less sought. This report also includes the latest revision of the court's statute, actions taken under the optional clause, and the rules of the court.

The value of the volume lies in its usefulness for ready reference to the full text of the court's decisions and orders and for its superb editorial and bibliographical apparatus. Aside from its special worth to the lawyer, this volume with the others in the series is significant as a record of the accomplishments of an international agency sorely needed if the post-war world is to be a world of peace. (CHARLES P. O'DONNELL)

HUTH, HANS, and WILLIAM J. PUGH (Trans. and Eds.). *Talleyrand in America as a Financial Promoter, 1794-96. Unpublished Letters and Memoirs.* Foreword by F. L. Nussbaum. [Volume II, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association.* 1941.] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. vii, 181. 65c.)

Not much is known about the American sojourn of Talleyrand during the years 1794 and 1795. The materials published in this book provide more information than has previously been available. This is the translation of a single manuscript prepared by Talleyrand during his years in America, evidently as the basis for a study of economic conditions in the United States. It is valuable not only because it throws additional light on Talleyrand's career, but also because it provides source material on American business in the eighteenth century. The manuscript is in reality a collection of memoirs,

letters, and notes, all referring to a central theme—the character of European-American business relations at the end of the eighteenth century. (JOHN J. MENG)

ISWOLSKY, HELEN. *Soul of Russia.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1943. Pp. xiii, 200. $2.75.)

Soul of Russia may be called an outline of Russia's spiritual history. It begins with her conversion to Christianity in the ninth century. Russia's choice of the Greek Orthodox Church instead of the far-away Latin Rome was not a matter of dogma but rather a selection guided by cultural, economic, and political interests. Yet there was a choice in the matter of rite. The liturgical splendors of the Eastern Church profoundly impressed the Russian mind. It was the first vision of Christianity, and this vision was so true, so vivid, that it has impressed the Russian soul ever since. Even the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century did not succeed in uprooting the seed of Christian civilization sown in previous centuries. Russia's spirituality has developed according to a clearly perceptible pattern of which the various motifs have found expression in her famous writers and thinkers, her saints and her heroes.

There were bitter political strifes and spiritual upheavals, events at times intricate and paradoxical, yet history clearly indicates that in moments of national emergency it was the official church, then as well as today, which united and inspired the masses. This seems somewhat incredible in view of the fact that the Russian Church appeared to be so disorganized and weak ever since it became subservient to the state. Actually, however, it was the state organization of the Church which was weak. The spiritual vitality had its own shrine wherein life was maintained.

A dynamic factor in the miracle of Russia's resistance to Hitler's mechanized onslaught is not Communism but her thousand-year-old Christian humanist tradition. In fact, Russia's resistance to Marxism itself was even a more spectacular miracle. Out of the 165 millions of Russians barely four million belong to the Communist Party. "Assaults against Christianity in Soviet Russia," writes Miss Iswolsky, "ended in complete failure. Communism is quite out of the picture in Russia. It may still be the official regime, a new kind of state religion, to be preached chiefly by propagandists abroad, but Russia's true ideals are to be found in human solidarity, mutual responsibility in the face of emergency, the defense of the weak against the strong, brotherhood in labor and in suffering."

The work is carefully documented. It is a book at once authoritative and full of intense interest. We strongly recommend *Soul of Russia* particularly to our American devotees of Communism who have never been to Russia or who have seen Russia only as tourists or as ambassadors. Miss Iswolsky is a native-born Russian, the daughter of the late minister of foreign affairs, 1906-1910, and Russian ambassador to Paris during the first World War. Her profound and scholarly knowledge of cultural, historical, and religious trends both in Russia and in France has been revealed in two previous works: *Soviet Man Now* and *Light Before Dusk.* (EDWARD J. DWORACZYK)

KEMBLE, JOHN HASKELL. *The Panama Route 1848-1869.* [Vol. XIX, University of California Publications in History.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 316. $3.00.)

After acquiring territory on the Pacific, the United States became responsible for providing means of communication with the region. The transportation of the United States mail was consequently an important reason for government assistance in opening the Panama route, which provided the best means of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific until the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Passengers, mail, express, and specie traveled over this route with greater safety and speed than by any other. This was its primary importance.

The author has made extensive use of manuscript materials in collections not only on the Pacific Coast, but also in eastern United States and in Panama. Newspapers, too, have furnished valuable information. The first part of the study is devoted to the establishment of service on the Panama route, with the organization of the United States Mail Steamship Company operating between New York and Panama, and that of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company between Panama and Oregon. Considerable attention is given to the competition between the individuals and corporations concerned in the operation of the route. The "Battle of the Titans" suggests the battles waged some years later between the railroad builders. In fact we meet here some of the persons involved in that later conflict, such as Cornelius Vanderbilt and Daniel Drew. One of the chapters is devoted to a description of the steamers used, and another gives an interesting picture of the voyage itself and the experiences of the passengers on the voyage.

The work has two maps and fifteen illustrations, mainly of the steamers in service. A list of the steamers with detailed information concerning tonnage and other items, and statistics of the number of passengers and amount of treasure carried, are supplied in the appendices. The book has an extensive bibliography. (DORA J. GUNDERSON)

LAISTNER, M. L. W., and H. H. KING. *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 168. $3.00.)

With this work, Professor Laistner, recognized as "the scholar who today knows Bede best" (Dom Capelle), puts at the service of students of Bede the results of his and Mr. King's long researches in the whereabouts of Bede manuscripts. That these were numerous was everywhere admitted; but that the authors have been able to trace over fifteen hundred of them is both a tribute to their patient skill, and a tangible proof of the popularity of the works of St. Bede all through the Middle Ages. Particularly interesting is the fact, pointed out in the introduction, that about ten percent of the extant manuscripts of the biblical commentaries are from the fifteenth century, two hundred years after theological interest in Bede was thought to have died!

In the list proper the manuscripts of each work are listed under the library in which they were in 1939. With relatively few exceptions, each manuscript bears not only its press-mark, but also the date and place of origin, and often a bibliographical reference. The prefatory notes at the beginning of each

section of the list frequently contain summaries of the present state of our knowledge of the work, together with additions and corrections resulting from Laistner's own research. The whole work including the index of manuscripts is marked by painstaking care and accuracy. The reviewer has noted only a very few slips: omitted was obviously meant (p. 20, l. 7) instead of admitted; the periodical at the top of page 111 should be *Zeitschrift für deutsche Geistesgeschichte;* in the index, MS Berlin Staatsbibl. 54 should be # 45 (p. 161). The references on pp. viii and 155 to a short computistical tract (PL XC, coll. 357-61A) could well have been a little more complete.

This volume should be of value to all students of mediaeval intellectual life. It directs attention to the great amount of work to be done on Bede, and should stimulate new workers after the war to undertake the needed editions. (Sister M. Thomas Aquinas Carroll)

Lea, Henry Charles. *Minor Historical Writings and Other Essays.* Edited by Arthur C. Howland. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 414. $3.50.)

In this volume of essays and studies Professor Arthur C. Howland submits what apparently is the concluding evidence of the amazing industry and breadth of interest of Henry Charles Lea. Lea's youthful intellectual interests are represented by two scientific studies on peroxide of manganese and on marine shells. The six essays on such diverse topics as polygamy, municipal government, international copyright, insurance, politics, and criminology serve to illustrate his lifelong concern with affairs of the moment. The six book reviews are examples of his methods in that field of history writing.

The bulk of the space is allotted to studies and essays on the Catholic Church and on Spain. The most important and longest of these is the hitherto unpublished study on "The Witch Persecutions in Transalpine Europe" to which Professor George L. Burr has supplied an introduction and some additional notes. Spanish history is represented by studies on her coinage, Indian policy, the decadence of Spain in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and three on the Inquisition. The essays on the Catholic Church are of two general kinds: one series includes studies on the Templars, taxes of the papal penitentiary, usury, the dead hand, and occult compensation; the other deals with various aspects of the problems and history of the Church in the nineteenth century. Anyone seeking light on Lea's opinion of the old Church can find it readily in these ephemeral papers, especially in: "The Religious Reform Movement in Italy", "Monks and Nuns in France", and "Key Notes from Rome". Historiographers must also read "Ethical Values in History" for Lea's philosophy of history.

All these papers, with the exception of the one noted above, have been printed before, some few privately, the others in American and European reviews and journals. Professor Howland has contented himself with brief introductory notes to give the setting of each paper. He has also appended a list of such historical articles as were later incorporated in Lea's historical works. (Victor Gellhaus)

LEDUC, GILBERT F. *Washington and "The Murder of Jumonville."* (Boston: La Société Historique Franco-Américaine. 1943. Pp. iii, 239. $2.25.)

It is common knowledge that the expedition conducted by Washington against the French in the Ohio Valley in 1754 began the Seven Years' War between the French and the English and that the distinction gained by Washington in that expedition drew the eyes of the colonies upon him for the chief command of the colonial forces when the Revolutionary War broke out. Yet it is probably little known that an episode of that expedition led to the accusation, by French authorities and writers, that Washington was an "assassin," a "murderer," a charge that was made ferociously at the time and has been reiterated now and again, especially by French-Canadian writers, over a period of nearly two hundred years.

The essential core of the occurrence is, that on May 28, 1754, the troops under the command of Washington encountered a French force led by Ensign Coulon de Jumonville, and a skirmish ensued in which Jumonville and nine of his escort were killed. The French asserted that Jumonville was on a peaceful diplomatic mission, namely, to summon the English to remove themselves from the territory claimed by France. First of all, therefore, arises the question whether, in fact, Jumonville was an envoy of peace and that his party accordingly had diplomatic status, or whether, on the contrary, as Washington supposed, the purpose of Jumonville and his party was one of espionage. Within this general framework numerous incidental questions are involved that bear directly upon the charge of murder or the violation of diplomatic immunity, such as, for instance, whether Washington's men fired first and whether, as charged, Jumonville was actually reading his summons when killed.

The thesis of this book is a refutation of the French charge and a vindication of Washington. The author "admits most frankly" that he approached the discussion of the death of Jumonville "with a certain sense of temerity"; nevertheless he has made a thorough examination of existing evidence, some of which has been brought to light by his own researches, and he has pronounced the verdict, "not guilty." To this reviewer the author's examination of the evidence appears to have been conscientious, his reasoning cogent, and his conclusions right. (EDMUND C. BURNETT)

MARCHANT, ALEXANDER. *From Barter to Slavery: The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LX, No. 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1942. Pp. 150. $1.50.)

This study by a young American scholar is a distinguished contribution to Brazilian historiography, and it will undoubtedly remain, at least until such time as new documents are discovered, the definitive work on the subject. "The one aspect that has long been neglected in studying the first century of Brazilian history", the author writes, "is the economic relation between the Portuguese and the natives" (p. 15). This lacuna Dr. Marchant has now capably filled.

The study falls into three fairly distinct periods, i.e., from 1500 to about 1533, "when the Portuguese in Brazil were by occupation either brazilwood

traders or coastguards" (p. 23); from about 1533 to 1549, when the colonization of Brazil was the monopoly of *donatários* or proprietary landlords; and from 1549, when the central government was established, to about 1580, when a new dynasty ascended the Portuguese throne. Dr. Marchant observes that in the early days, when the Indians exchanged dyewood and other tropical products for merchandise supplied by the Portuguese and other European traders, pure barter existed. With the founding of the captaincies the position of the Indian *vis-à-vis* the economic system of the white man became worse; indeed the breakdown of barter became evident as early as the administration of Tomé de Sousa (1549-1553). The subsequent growth of plantation agriculture naturally increased the need for labor, whereupon the Portuguese began to enslave the Indians, even after the publication of the first governor's *regimento* of 1548, which expressly forbade it. But the Church, through the Society of Jesus, stood in the way of such a practice, and hindered it as much as it could. When the demands of the planters became acute with the manufacture of sugar, the great industry of colonial times, the problem of labor was solved by resorting to the importation of Negroes. Thus was achieved the transition "from barter to slavery", from Indian barter to Indian and later Negro slavery.

A careful reading of the text uncovered one or two errors of fact, one or two wrong citations, and a very hesitant (and even faulty) Portuguese orthography. These slips do not diminish our admiration for the skill with which Dr. Marchant has handled his subject. (MANOEL DA SILVEIRA CARDOZO)

MAYO, BERNARD (Ed.). *Jefferson Himself: The Personal Narrative of a Many-Sided American.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1942. Pp. xv, 384. $4.00.)

One of the nation's preeminent contributors to the democratic ideology of the present world, Jefferson has been, and will be, continually reinterpreted to succeeding generations. Despite the existent handy compilations of Jefferson's ideas and writings, Professor Mayo has performed a valuable service for the bicentennial anniversary of the great American in providing the average intelligent reader with the best and most serviceably convenient key to the understanding of Jefferson and Jeffersonian ideology. With the exception of brief but very clear and useful chapter introductions, Mayo's excerpts enable Jefferson's writings to develop his own autobiography from birth to grave. Page after page, following a basic chronological arrangement, indicates the many interests and enthusiasm of this American philosopher-statesman. Selecting at random a single page, it exhibits Jefferson's concern with family life, paleo-biology, ethnology, and mechanics (p. 202). Concentration upon political philosophy and the constant pursuit of complete liberty for all men are the continuously reappearing theses of all his writings. To the readers of this REVIEW, Jefferson will reappear as the generally-accepted figure: the Christian rationalist characteristic of the late eighteenth century who, constantly fighting the battle for the religious and intellectual freedom for other men upon humanitarian grounds, did not resolve his own mind on the major question of religion. The characteristic tone of the twentieth-century "liberal

and progressive" towards the ministers of God will also be seen in Jefferson's unfair sweeping generalizations against the religious leaders of his day. Better excerpts of Jefferson's writings may in the future be made, but Professor Mayo has provided a clear and real portrait which, in its expansiveness, presents a truer Thomas Jefferson than any similar compilation. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

MCKINLAY, ARTHUR PATCH, (Ed.). *Arator, The Codices.* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. [Publication No. 43.] 1942. Pp. vii, 166. $3.00.)

This publication of the Mediaeval Academy of America is the result of extensive studies in Arator by Professor McKinlay and is, as the author states in his preface, "designed to prepare the way for a critical edition of the works of Arator." It has the merit of being both complete and orderly. All the material is well indexed and the detailed description of the 103 codices used by Professor McKinlay is supplemented by hand-lists of the codices by number, by centuries, and by locale. In addition, thirty-seven excellent plates help visualize the codices themselves, for which we have in the descriptive material their dating, measurements, gatherings, contents, and provenience.

Pages 104-118 are devoted to a statistical essay on the place of Arator in mediaeval culture; the combining of the works of other writers in the codices with his works is the criterion used. These combinations are summarized by centuries (pp. 113-115) from the ninth to the fourteenth. The fact that only sixty-nine codices contain material from any authors besides Arator and that ten of the sixty-nine have material from Juvencus, fifteen from Prosper, fourteen from Prudentius, and twenty-four from Sedulius is far from accidental and "shows how compelling was the principle of choice in the making up of the codices."

The publication of Professor McKinlay's edition will be awaited with interest by American scholars, for many of whom Perugi's edition (Venice, 1909) is unavailable and first-hand acquaintance with Arator has been possible only through the text in Migne's *Patrologia Latina,* Vol. LXVIII. (BERNARD H. SKAHILL)

MCMAHON, JOHN L. *American Government.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. Pp. 191. $1.50.)

The Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America did well to ask Dr. McMahon to write this student manual or outline of American government. He designed the book in part to aid students to visualize the breadth of the study of American government. He has written a concise, clear-cut, and orderly arrangement of the topics traditionally discussed in the textbooks in this field. More importantly he has proposed, "to integrate the philosophical aspects of that study with Christian political theory."

The outline, appropriately accompanied by a number of charts, presents the main structures and procedures of our national, state, and local governmental organization and constitutional system. This type of presentation

makes the outline useful, in spite of the many changes wrought by the war. No attempt was made to point up some of the leading questions of political reform such as the Senate minority veto power over treaties and the need for improvements in congressional procedures and administrative management. In order to get students thinking about these and other like issues, use of the selected references appended to each chapter will be helpful.

The philosophical aspects of American government are dealt with formally in the first two chapters and touched upon in the chapter on the growth of the Federal Constitution. The narrow definition of the state quoted from Garner in the first part of Chapter I must be taken together with Garner's observation on the end of the state which is also quoted a few pages later. (CHARLES P. O'DONNELL)

MOODY, ERNEST ADDISON (Ed.), Columbia University. *Iohannis Buridani Quaestiones super libris quattuor de coelo et mundo* [Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 40. Studies and Documents, 6]. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1942. Pp. xxxv, 274. $4.50.)

The intellectual interests of the thirteenth century were predominantly metaphysical-theological, while today they are mostly mechanical-scientific. The change in interests was not an abrupt one, as has generally been supposed. The transition period falls in the fourteenth century in which lived and wrote a group of "natural philosophers"—John Buridan, Nicolas of Oresme, Albert of Saxony, etc. The libraries of Galileo, Copernicus, and Kepler consisted largely of the works of these men, whose influence on the methods and ideas of the pioneers of modern science is beyond question. This fact, however, has been lost sight of because the writings of Buridan and his contemporaries have not been available to scholars. This edition of the *Quaestiones* is a first step in the correction of the situation. The editor has chosen this work because, written *ca.* 1340, it is a mid-point of fourteenth century scientific literature and because it is an elaboration of problems based on the *De coelo et mundo*, which as an analysis of local motion is a point of departure for the development of a science of mechanics.

This edition is based on two mss—the late-fourteenth-century Cod. Lat Monac. 19551 (M) and the fourteenth-century MS Bruges 477 (B). The editor was unable to obtain photostats of a third known MS — Cod. Lat. Monac. 761. Though the text of M was copied out first and in this sense served as basis for the edition, the editor has most frequently followed the text of B which is more complete. Hence B has really become the basic ms. The method followed is satisfactory and a reliable text has no doubt been reconstructed, even though the editor disclaims that he has produced a critical edition. A bibliography and a short index are included. The patience and hard work of the editor should be rewarded by the commendation of scholars for whom there has been restored one more link in the intellectual chain between the present and the past. (PHILIP S. MOORE)

MOTT, FRANK L., *Jefferson and the Press.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. 65. $1.00.)

In this convenient little monograph Dr. Mott draws together Jefferson's observations on the function of the press in a democratic society and recounts briefly his unhappy experiences with the newspapers of his day. The author, recipient of the Pulitzer prize in 1939 for his three-volume *History of American Magazines,* combines solid methodology with journalistic ability in presenting his analysis of Jefferson and the press. He is convinced that Jefferson showed no real inconsistency in his opinions of the press. He concludes that the third President, "the foremost exponent in history of the necessity of a free press in any system of popular or democratic government," held fast to his basic principles until death and that his apparent inconsistencies resulted from his disapproval of the newspapers of the time, not of the press as an institution.

While Jefferson believed that the press was a necessary check upon the government and that it should, therefore, be free, in practice he was not so consistent, largely because of the scurrilous attacks that he, a sensitive soul, had to bear during his term of office. Dr. Mott states, however, that "the sole inconsistency of his record" lies in his frequent resort to libel laws after 1803, though he had earlier deprecated their use. His inconsistencies in statement of opinion are explained as instances where Jefferson's love of epigram played his philosophy false. While the work is calmly written and well-reasoned, the historian feels it is better to tell the story and not worry about explaining away inconsistencies. They are too much a part of the story of human activity to have to be resolved. (THOMAS P. NEILL)

NICHOLS, MADALINE WALLIS. *The Gaucho. Cattle Hunter—Cavalryman—Ideal of Romance.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. ix, 152. $3.00.)

No one in the United States is better fitted than Miss Nichols to write the complete and definitive study of the gaucho. This almost legendary horseman of the Pampas has been the subject of predilection for the author over a period of years, and the results of her research have appeared in a number of solid articles in many of the scholarly reviews of this country and abroad. The late Professor Charles E. Chapman described Miss Nichols as "the leading authority on the gaucho and similar types of society in Hispanic America."

In this volume of the Duke University publications we are given an over-all account of the gaucho, the pastoral background of the La Plata region that created and conditioned this particular class of society, his original character as an outlaw cattle-hunter and contraband trader in hides, his attainment of respectability as the stalwart defender of the community against the depredations of frontier Indians, his almost decisive role as the victorious cavalryman in the long half-century of warfare, and finally his idealization into the very symbol of Argentine patriotism and national pride.

The essay on authorities (pp. 65-144) has a bibliography of 1341 items and constitutes the most valuable contribution of the work, as was the author's expressed purpose. It has two parts. The first, and more brief, is a study of

the sources and materials concerning the real and historic gaucho, and his political, economic, and social background and development. The second part of the bibliography is much longer, and assembles selected works that treat of or use the gaucho as a subject for literature, art, and music. Item number 473 (p. 108) gives an incorrect title for the work of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, the proper title being *Historia de la poesía hispano-americana* (not *argentina*).

This volume will prove of the greatest value to students who realize the importance of the gaucho's historic contributions to the making of Hispanic America, and of the implications for the future of the gaucho as a symbol and ideal. (RODERICK WHEELER)

PRITCHETT, JOHN PERRY. *The Red River Valley, 1811-1849.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xvii, 295. $2.75.)

Professor Pritchett's book embodies years of careful and painstaking research; the breadth of the subject and the wealth of archival and printed materials demanded it. He has gathered documents from the national archives of Canada and the great public and university libraries of Canada and the United States. While he held a professorship of history at the University of North Dakota, located in the valley of which he writes, he was able to see at first hand the territory where more than a century ago Scottish and Irish settlers fought for survival. Through the aid of a Carnegie fellowship, he was able to go to St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, Scotland, the home of the Earl of Selkirk, where he was given access to the Selkirk diaries and correspondence. In addition, the author has made excellent use of rich materials from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, the documents of the North West Company, and contemporary pamphlets which throw new light on the savage opposition to Lord Selkirk's settlement.

In the opening chapters of the volume Professor Pritchett has described the early life and times of Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, the youngest of the seven sons of Dunbar (Hamilton) Douglas. On the death of his father, May 24, 1799, he enlarged the scope of his philanthropic plans to include the Scottish families deprived of their lands by "modernized" chiefs, and Irish Catholics, victims of the penal laws and of the brutal suppression of the revolt of 1798. The story of the earl's settlements in Canada, especially that of the Red River Valley, is told with thoroughness of detail. The chapters on the thuggery of the North West Company and the scandalous maladministration of "Retributive Justice" by the "Family Compact" of Upper and Lower Canada are extremely valuable. One feels that in the latter case the impact of truth may have been softened by the editorial reader for the Carnegie Endowment who in the preface is thanked "for his assistance in overcoming difficulties encountered both in the text and in its preparation for the printer." In spite of every form of trial and persecution the settlement in the valley was permanently established. In the making of this chapter of Canadian and American history Professor Pritchett's valuable book leaves no doubt that the Earl of Selkirk was a disinterested philanthropist. (JOHN B. O'REILLY)

Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research, Vol. XIII. (Pp. xxvi, 96. $2.00. *Texts and Studies*, Vol. II, *Saadia Anniversary Volume*. Pp. 346. $4.00. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society. 1943.)

In these two volumes the American Academy for Jewish Research continues its effective stimulus to the production and spread of scholarly studies arising out of all phases of Jewish life. The current *Proceedings* contains memorial notices of the late Professors V. Aptowitzer and I. Elbogen, formerly of the Jewish Institutes in Vienna and Berlin, respectively. It is a token of the need filled by the Academy that both of these scholars, in an enforced exile coming toward the end of full and productive careers, were drawn into close association with its activities. The three articles in the volume deal with aspects of Semitic mythology (S. Gandz), biblical exegesis (D. de S. Pool), and mediaeval philosophy (L. Strauss). The special *Texts and Studies* volume "comprises eight essays on Rabbi Saadia ben Joseph, a native of Fayyum, Egypt, and Gaon of Sura, the thousandth anniversary of whose death was commemorated by Jews in the year gone by." It is thus a companion volume to the *Rashi Anniversary Volume* issued in 1941 as the first of this series (cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII, 147). The contributions form an attractive symposium in that they reflect real progress in the interpretation of widely different phases of Saadia's many-sided career. These are, his communal leadership (S. Baron), biblical exegesis (B. Cohen), mathematical attainments (S. Gandz), treatment of the arguments for creation as compared with other mediaeval writers, Jewish, Christian, and Moslem (H. A. Wolfson), edition of the prayer-book (I. Elbogen, M. Higger), and influence on the Samaritans (A. S. Halkin). The volume concludes with a bibliography on Saadia, 1920-42 (A. Freimann), which brings up to date the literature collected in a comprehensive way for the preceding period by H. Malter in his standard biography of the Gaon. Five of the items listed are compilations parallel in character to the volume under review; at least one other such, announced for publication in Manchester, England, had evidently not been issued when this volume went to press. A. Louis Ginzberg jubilee volume is promised by the Academy for 1944, and the preliminary list of contributors and articles guarantees a distinguished offering to the scholar thus to be honored. (PATRICK W. SKEHAN)

QUECEDO, FRANCISCO, O.F.M. *El ilustrísimo Fray Hipólito Sánchez Rangel primer obispo de Maynas*. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires, No. LXXVIII.] (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora "Coni," 1942. Pp. 229, cxxxvi, 7.)

Directed by Dr. Emilio Ravignani, the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires is one of the leading organizations of its kind in all of Latin America. The publications issued under its aegis have been legion; and no student, either of the history of Argentina or of the history of many other countries of Spanish America, can afford to overlook the learned works which have come, over a period of years, from its presses.

Among the recent studies to be published by the Instituto is this biography by Father Quecedo of Fray Hipólito Sánchez Rangel (1761-1839), Spanish

patriot of the Wars of Independence, first Bishop of Maynas, and, during the declining years of his life, Bishop of Lugo in his native land. The author has purposely stressed the "personalidad hispanoamericana" of his subject, and he has thereby placed students of Latin American history very much in his debt. It is well to remember that the role of Fray Hipólito in the history of South America was not without significance. It should be further pointed out that the book, quite apart from the information it furnishes the reader on Bishop Rangel himself, throws much light on the ecclesiastical and secular history of a little-known region, and on several aspects of the movement for independence in the bishopric of Maynas. (MANOEL DA SILVEIRA CARDOZO)

RICH, E. E. (Ed.), St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671-1674.* (London: Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1942. Pp. lxvii, 276. Subscribers' Edition.)

The careful, scholarly editing revealed in previous publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society is maintained at its full stature in the present volume. The minutes here printed are those of the General Court, its Committee and Sub-Committee which convened at frequent though irregular times from October 24, 1671, to July 22, 1674, in such varied places as the home of Sir Robert Viner, the Tower, and Whitehall Palace. The actual text, admirably annotated, is reproduced in 129 pages. However, this is buttressed by a lengthy, excellently-written introduction, and five valuable appendices. The first appendix is the complete text of the royal charter incorporating the Hudson's Bay Company which was issued in 1670 by Charles II. Brief biographical sketches of the more prominent members and pioneering associates of the Company are presented in another. Separate treatment is allotted to the two enterprising but temporarily disgruntled French-Canadian fur-traders and explorers, Radisson and Groseilliers, at whose suggestion the organization was founded.

This well-printed, splendidly-indexed volume will be a welcome addition to all whose interests center in Canadian history or in the wider field of the British Empire. (CLARENCE J. RYAN)

ROBINSON, JACOB, OSCAR KARBACH, MAX M. LASERSON, NEHEMIAH ROBINSON, and MARC VICHNIAK. *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs. 1943. Pp. xvi, 349. $2.00.)

This book may be of some interest to the student of international law, but it has very little value for the historian. The minorities treaties concluded after World War I are described and their functioning is analysed. But the historical and ideological background of the concept of minority is not presented. The book contains only a few hints that exclusive reliance on the official complaints of a minority gives a misleading picture of its status. It is observed: "Long experience has taught them (Jewish groups) that winning a case against their government was often a Pyrrhic victory at best. For this reason, despite their many valid grievances, the Jewish minorities submitted only a negligible number of petitions" (p. 248). The authors state that these treaties failed because the League of Nations failed, due to changes in the

whole political atmosphere, the retreat of democracies, and the rise of anti-democratic powers. But this statement overlooks the decisive question: why was it possible to misuse many minorities as means of increasing unrest? Quotations from legal texts and diplomatic statements do not contribute to an understanding of the political and social realities behind the concept of national minority as accepted by the minorities treaties. The few remarks about strong and weak minorities in Chapter VII are not sufficient, though they point in the right direction. Even the short discussions in *Nationalism. A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* (London, 1939) pp. 293ff. are more illuminating. C. A. Macartney's work, *National States and National Minorities* (London, 1934), though its material is obviously not up-to-date, is in no way superseded by the publication of the Institute of Jewish Affairs. Chronological and statistical tables cannot make good a failure to go beyond the purely descriptive legalistic approach. (WALDEMAR GURIAN)

RUTKOWSKI, NEOMISIA, SISTER M. *John Tyssowski*. (Chicago: Annals of the Polish Roman Catholic Union Archives. 1943. Pp. 80. 50c.)

The Polish political immigration caused by the partition of Poland and by the series of subsequent insurrections gave America many valuable men who played a prominent part in her public life. One such patriot was John Tyssowski.

Tyssowski displayed remarkable organizing ability in the days of the 1846 insurrection. He was finally imprisoned and subsequently exiled to America. Austria's treatment of him was by no means as lenient as had been proclaimed by the American press of the day. If he was not hanged or imprisoned for life, it was because public opinion, more powerful than the Alliance-Act of Germany, would not permit his delivery from Saxony into Austria's hands until the latter pledged herself to suffer him to emigrate unmolested to North America. But his large estate in Galicia was confiscated. The trifling sum of $953.20, of which $400.00 was deducted by the Austrian government for passage expenses, was "thrown back at him in the shape of alms" on his arrival in New York.

Finding work in America to support a family of seven children was no easy task. For a time he taught drawing at Columbia College. Later he was part owner and publisher of a German newspaper. His knowledge of French, German, Italian, and Latin made him a welcome figure in political circles interested in the liberation of oppressed countries in Europe. (EDWARD J. DWORACZYK)

SENNA, NELSON DE. *Africanos no Brasil* (*Estudos sobre os nêgros africanos e influencias afro-nêgras sobre a linguagem e costumes do povo brasileiro*). (Belo Horizonte: Oficinas Gráficas Queiroz Breyner Limitada. 1940. Pp. 305.)

The fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the "lei áurea" of May 13, 1888, which, with a single sweep of the pen, and without bloodshed, freed some eight hundred thousand slaves in Brazil and thus brought a long phase in the history of slavery in the western world to an end, was the motive for this volume

by one of Brazil's better-known polygraphs. A sane interest in the Negro, Dr. Senna points out, is important if we are to know "as fontes e directrizes da civilisação brasileira. . . ." (p. 25).

With this criterion, Professor Senna has gathered together a number of miscellaneous studies, some historical, some philosophical, and some sociological, which, though possibly not the best that have been written on these subjects, are nevertheless very illuminating and provocative. Certainly no one will deny, after reading the book, that the influence of the Negro element in Brazil has been very great; but the American reader, who is not given to praising the Negro in his own country, even when the Negro's contributions to his own civilization have been significant, and who, therefore, might be led to a wrong conclusion in reading such studies as these by Professor Senna, ought to be warned against exaggerating the role the Negro has played in the historical evolution of Brazil. (MANOEL DA SILVEIRA CARDOZO)

SHAW, EDWARD PEASE. *Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792)*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 136. $1.50.)

Jacques Cazotte was definitely a secondary figure of eighteenth-century France. His career was marked by a divergence from the salient traits of his contemporaries. He was an honest colonial official at Martinique where he became involved in the Lavalette affair, losing a considerable sum in that venture. Yet unlike his confreres of the literary world, he did not become anti-clerical. He joined the forces of that small unpopular group who assailed the anti-religious trends of the day. His attacks upon the attempt to apply the scientific method to society and to evolve a completely materialistic philosophy went largely unheard. The keenest minds of the eighteenth century failed to perceive the nature of the hydra-headed revolution which they were helping to shape, but Cazotte, a writer of fables, a man whose imagination was so strong that it ruined most of his literary work, was able to predict the ultimate degeneration of the Revolution into a reign of terror. Rescued during the September Massacres because some of the crowd were attracted by his beautiful daughter who begged for the life of her father, he was brought to trial and condemned to death as a traitor because of his loyalty to the king. Of his literary works, only *Le Diable amoureux*, which owed much to the mediaeval morality play, remains. Being a poet and a man of imagination, Cazotte managed to see better into the future than the realistic politicians and revolutionaries of his day.

Professor Shaw's work is an excellent contribution in a much-needed field of study. The smaller characters of the eighteenth century who bucked the current and finally were dragged down by the force of revolution, deserve more attention than they have hitherto received. Perhaps then we can better estimate the destructive aspect of the Revolution which on its brighter side promised liberty, equality, and fraternity. (JAMES M. EAGAN)

STEELE, ANTHONY. *Richard II*. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. x, 320. $3.50.)

Steele's *Richard II* is the first attempt at a complete portrait of that unfortunate monarch since the appearance of Wallon's life in 1864. As much

documentary evidence has been discovered, particularly Adam of Usk's and Dieulacres' chronicles, the revised evaluation of the *Traison et Mort de Richard II*, and many detailed studies, especially in the fields of finance, economics, and politics, have appeared, since the publication of Wallon's life, the present study is both necessary and fruitful. Steele does not attempt, as Wallon did, to present a complete picture of the king and of his reign, but limits his presentation to "Richard in his political function". To the intricate co-ordination of the new evidence offered in regard to the workings of government in Richard's day, the handling of government finances, the importance and extent of the duties of local officials, the machinery of parliamentary elections, and the details of diplomatic history, Mr. Steele has added a new interpretation of Richard's character.

For the most part, the author is content to co-ordinate and report the results and implications of the scholarly investigations which have appeared in the past seventy-five years. Where the results of these investigations modify or correct the works of older scholars, he presents detailed evidence. Such critical reporting makes for very close reading and, at times, tends to throw the material out of proportion, but it is a most helpful guide through the maze of research which has been done. The study leaves the reader with a much clearer understanding of the events and developments of Richard II's reign: of the gradual evolution of the manorial system, affecting the entire structure of local government and national economy and the continuous and stubborn struggle for power between the king and the magnates, which ended so disastrously for the king.

According to Steele's interpretation, Richard II emerges as a man with an *idée fixée*, a schizoïd, subjected in youth to the forces of a turbulent period which warped "the sensitive adolescent unwillingly involved in them and, most incidentally, produced the abrupt explosion which we call the Peasant's Revolt!' The Richard of history, unlike the Richard of Shakespeare, dies "probably . . . a mumbling neurotic, sinking rapidly into a state of acute melancholia!"

To the student of history the study should prove an invaluable guide; to the student of literature it offers new light on the background of the work of Chaucer and Gower and supplements the picture portrayed in the political songs and satires and the plaint of *Piers Plowman* of a distressed and distressful age. The work itself is careful and accurate, well-documented, and equipped with an excellent bibliography and index. The foreword has been contributed by Professor George M. Trevelyan of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Sister M. Emmanuel Collins)

Thorold, Algar. (Trans.) *The Dialogue of St. Catherine of Siena.* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Bookshop. 1943. Pp. 344. $2.75.)

The Newman Bookshop has added to its list of reissues of Catholic classics *The Dialogue of St. Catherine of Siena.* Before going to Rome to lend support to Urban VI at the beginning of the Great Western Schism, Catherine dictated to three disciples the fruits of her contemplative life. *Il Libro,* as she titled the work, is a dialogue between God and the human soul (Catherine's), in which is reflected the mysticism of the saint who played so active a

role in ecclesiastical and in Italian history of the *trecento*. The *Dialogue* was translated from the Italian into Latin, later into French, English (1519), German, and Spanish. From Gigli's 1707 edition of the Italian version Algar Thorold made his translation, which was published in 1896, preceded by an introduction on Christian mysticism. A second edition (1907), bearing the ecclesiastical *imprimatur*, contained a new introduction and omitted sections depicting the sinful lives of some members of the clergy. The complete works of Catherine have been approved by the Holy See.

In the present volume, a reissue of the 1907 edition, the *Dialogue* is well translated, but lacks chapter numbers and indication of sections abridged or omitted. Careful editing would have corrected errors such as 1370 for 1378, the date of the *Dialogue* (second title page), *trecento* used for the thirteenth century (p. 14), reference to Gigli's edition of the last century (p. 24). A new introduction reflecting progress in "Catherine" studies during the past few decades would have been valuable. In his 1896 introduction Mr. Thorold stated that historical knowledge of St. Catherine had little to do with the science to be learned from her mystical experiences. This edition also is directed, not to historians, but to Catholic readers for study and meditation. (ANNA T. SHEEDY)

VLEKKE, BERNARD H. M. *Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xv, 439. $5.00.)

The advertising manager of the Harvard University Press has committed an unwarranted blunder in stating on the jacket of this book that it "is the first complete history of the Archipelago in the English language." On the contrary, it is distinctly inferior to the superb two-volume set by a more competent authority in the Netherlands: E. S. de Klerck, *History of the Netherlands East Indies* (Rotterdam, 1938). Both works contain a geographical introduction, followed by the history of the Hindu, Mohammedan, and Portuguese periods. Both devote considerable attention to the growth of Dutch seapower in the Far East, but both fail to present an adequate account of the Anglo-Dutch rivalry. Vlekke gives practically nothing on the latter subject, while his geographical introduction also leaves much to be desired. Whereas de Klerck is rather weak in his discussion of the seventeenth century, his treatment of the period after 1815 is twice as long and much more comprehensive than that of Vlekke. It was for this reason that the present writer in a similar work, *The Dutch in the Far East*, refrained from repeating what had already been done in masterful fashion before. But what nobody could do before 1942 has been done very well by Vlekke. His last chapter, which deals with the Japanese invasion, is valuable.

The author has provided numerous footnotes of a high quality, which contain bibliographical references. Unfortunately, a great many sources are not mentioned, particularly those in the English language. In the text (pp. 111 and 124) erroneous information is given about the capitalization of the English East India Company. The absence of a proper bibliography is also to be regretted. (ALBERT HYMA)

WALLIS, WILSON D., Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota. *Messiahs: Their Role in Civilization.* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 217. Cloth, $3.50; paper, $3.00.)

If this volume has a thesis, it would seem to be that "as we must have our totems and scapegoats, so we must have our culture heroes" . . . which latter term is used more or less equivalently with the "messiahs" of the title. The examples offered include those who have claimed a divine mission to their contemporaries; those who have either promised to return, or been expected to return for the betterment of their fellows in a future age; and those who have claimed for themselves a supernatural character in order to build up a following. The instances selected are drawn indiscriminately from peoples of every level of culture and of whatsoever race and historical traditions. They are, of course, not exhaustive; but neither are they selective on any principle discernible to the reviewer. Critical evaluation is lacking. Tacitus is quoted through Francis Bacon (p. 11). "John of Salisbury believed the prophecy that contemporaries had applied to Vespasian could be applied to Christ:"—and the colon is followed by a citation of Psalm 2:8, plus a paraphrase of Psalm 18(19)5, with no indication of any source other than some misguided contemporaries of Vespasian. The sentence, "It has been suggested that the messianic concept came to the Jews from a north Arabian Misrite or Jerahme source" (p. 14) will smell to many a nose like the mouldering remains of an extravagant and unfounded theory dead these forty years. Saadiah taught something (p. 28) about a messiah, in 892—the year of his birth. Cid Campeador is given without qualification as the "last Gothic king of Spain" (p. 143). "About 1653 Arise Evans announced that the kingdom of Charles I [d. 1649] was doomed" (p. 165). On a par with the credulities of pre-literate peoples is presented (p. 143) the deliberately metaphorical application by a daily newspaper in our super-sophisticated times of a snatch of mediaeval legend—which even our mediaeval forebears who created it doubtless knew for an old wives' tale.

The book is loosely written, furnished with a burlesque on serious bibliography, and fantastically priced. (PATRICK W. SKEHAN)

WEINBAUM, MARTIN, Dr. phil. (Ed.). *British Borough Charters, 1307-1660.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. lxvii, 241. $5.00.)

Thirty years ago Adolphus Ballard published *British Borough Charters, 1042-1216,* and ten years later, in collaboration with Professor Tait, followed this with a second volume which carried the work to the death of Edward I. These two volumes had the purpose of showing the constitutional origin and formation of British municipalities but left untold what happened to them after they were fully established. Dr. Weinbaum now adds a third and concluding volume, which carries us to the Stuart Restoration. The period he covers is one of increasing uniformity, with certain local tendencies and the interests of the crown both working in this direction. It was also a period during which the tendency of local government was increasingly towards oligarchy; but as Dr. Weinbaum says, this meant that one class was given a

solid training in the responsibility and technique of government which would slowly evolve into liberty and democracy.

The book covers all the British Isles. After the introduction it is in tabular form. Due to differences of material, Dr. Weinbaum had adopted a plan different from that of Ballard and Tait. The actual phrasing of the charters is no longer given. Instead, the main body of the work gives a brief summary of the chartered rights of each borough, arranged according to counties in alphabetical order. Under each borough the charters are listed chronologically. Thus topography is made the center of arrangement. But supplementing this is an analytical index which gives the emphasis to the various legal rights which were conferred by the charters. Like his predecessors, Dr. Weinbaum limits his interest to constitutional history and this volume, like the two before it, is an important tool for scholars and not for the general reader. (AELRED SAGE)

WINSLOW, CHARLES-EDWARD AMORY. *The Conquest of Epidemic Disease. A Chapter in the History of Ideas.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 411. $4.50.)

This book is the story of epidemiology, "the story of how man solved the mystery of epidemic disease." In pleasant style, with considerable research and a wealth of details, it relates the evolution of ideas concerning the cause of contagious diseases and their propagation. The progress of the human mind toward the knowledge of infection parallels its advance in understanding other natural phenomena. Epidemiological thinking can be divided into three phases: demons, miasms, and germs. The primitive concept of contagion, which still exists today in certain corners of the world, ascribed supernatural powers, gods or demons, as the causes of epidemics and pestilence. "If we could visualize the thinking of the entire human race since its beginnings, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of that race have held the belief that disease is caused by the malign influence of individual supernatural powers." Even in remote antiquity, a certain knowledge of infection and crude attempts at controlling it, by means of magic, incantations, and sorceries, existed. Demons were displaced by miasms and this meant a better understanding of an orderly universe of law. There was soon a regression, however, and once again primitive demonology reigned. The miasmatic theory held sway for a long time. It was finally abandoned, not without a struggle, around the middle of the last century and superseded by the germ theory. This theory, as we accept it today, with the concept of the carrier and the insect host, forms the structural basis of modern epidemiology.

This book should appeal to the general historian as well as to the medical historian, for it is a notable contribution to the history of science. (GABRIEL NADEAU)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Toward a Rare Book Policy in the Library of Congress. Lawrence C. Wroth (*Library of Congress Quart. Jour. of Current Acquisitions*, July-Sept.).
History as a Living Force. Christopher Crittenden (*Pennsylvania Hist.*, Jan.).
The Historians' Contribution to Contemporary Thought. David Thomson (*History*, Sept.).
Ernst Troeltsch's Conception of History. Wilhelm Schenk (*Dublin Rev.*, Jan.).
The Soviet Concordat (the Orthodox Church and the Kremlin). Ksawery Prusxynski (*ibid.*).
Teoria de la historia. Josefina Muriel de la Torre (*Abside*, Oct.).
La historia en la filosofía de Scheler. Leopoldo Zea (*Filosofía y Letras*, Oct.).
Dante Alighieri: Realidad e intuición. Ulrich Leo (*ibid.*).
Francis Suarez and Totalitarian States. R. W. Mulligan (*America*, Feb. 19).
The Roots of Totalism. Goetz A. Briefs (*Thought*, Mar.).
The Geopolitics of War: Total War and Geo-Strategy. Andrew Gyorgy (*Journal of Politics*, Nov.).
Politics and History in the Age of Enlightenment. Friedrich Engel-Janosi (*ibid.*).
Tradition and Propaganda. Francis G. Wilson (*ibid.*).
The Political Theory of Vichy. Gladys M. Kammerer (*ibid.*).
Liberals and "Liberals." Thomas F. Woodlock (*Columbia*, Dec.).
Roots of "Liberalism." *Idem* (*ibid.*, Jan.).
L'Église et les nationalismes. James H. Ledit, S.J. (*Le Canada Français*, Jan.).
Burke and Metaphysics. Victor M. Hamm (*New Scholasticism*, Jan.).
St. Augustine on Peace. Kato Kiszely-Payzs (*ibid.*).
Religion and Mass Civilization—The Problem of the Future. Christopher Dawson (*Dublin Rev.*, Jan.).
Natural Law and International Order. Walter M. Horton (*Christendom*, Winter).
The Origin and Development of Canon Law. William R. O'Connor (*Jurist*, Jan.).
The Fundamental Principles of the Philosophy of Canon Law. Willibald M. Plöchl (*ibid.*).
The Origin and Development of the Term "Title." Joseph J. Christ (*ibid.*).
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Luke and the Samaritans. Morton S. Enslin (*Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, Oct.).
Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea. Thomas J. McMahon *America*, Mar. 4).
The articles in the first volume of *Traditio* were listed on p. 122 of our April, 1943 issue.
The Handbook of Master Peter, Chancellor of Chartres. V. L. Kennedy, C.S.B. (*Mediaeval Studies*, 1943.)
Sur la doctrine de l'aséité divine. Jacques Maritain (*ibid.*).

A List of Photographic Reproductions of Mediaeval Manuscripts in the Library of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Part II. R. J. Scollard, C.S.B., (*ibid.*).

The Logos as a Basis for a Doctrine of Providence. M. M. Marcia, I.B.V.M. (*ibid.*).

Greek Works Translated into Latin before 1350 [*cont.*]. J. T. Muckle, C.S.B. (*ibid.*).

The Conception of Substance in the Philosophy of the Ikwan as-Sefa' (Brethern of Purity). Emil L. Fackenheim (*ibid.*).

A Thomistic Glossary on the Principle of the Preeminence of a Common Good. I. Th. Eschmann, O.P. (*ibid.*).

Maistre Nicole Oresme Le Livre du Ciel et du Monde, Text and Commentary [*cont.*]. Albert D. Menut and Alexander J. Denomy, C.S.B. (*ibid.*).

The Public Law of the Ripuarian, Alamannic, and Bavarian Codes. Floyd Seyward Lear (*Medievalia et Humanistica,* Fasc. II).

A Fragment from an Insular Manuscript of Isidore. M. L. W. Laistner (*ibid.*).

Semiramis in the Middle Ages: The History of a Legend. Irene Samuel (*ibid.*).

A Fifteenth-Century Bluestocking. Dorothy M. Robathan (*ibid.*).

The Inscription in Federigo da Montefeltro's Studio in the Metropolitan Museum: Distichs by His Librarian Federigo Veterano. Hans Nachod (*ibid.*).

The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages. Eva Sanford (*Jour. of Hist. of Ideas,* Jan.).

An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Biography. Josiah C. Russell (*Modern Language Quart.,* Dec.).

The Seraphic Doctor's Doctrine on Mary's Universal Mediation, A Symposium. Victor Valentovic, Charles Repole, Roland Dusick (*Round Table of Franciscan Research,* Nov.).

Early Capuchin Convents. Roland Dusick, O.F.M.Cap. (*ibid.*).

Reform Movement in the Province of the Marches. Gall Higgins, O.F.M.Cap. (*ibid.*).

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Bernardino Ochino, the Apostate. Eric May, O.F.M.Cap. (*ibid.*).

The Friars and Plain Chant. Thaddeus Mac Vicar, O.F.M.Cap., (*ibid.*).

St. Bonaventure's Christocentric Doctrine. Victor Valentovic, O.F.M. Cap. (*ibid.*).

Salimbene. Hiram Rockell Bennett (*Anglican Theolog. Rev.,* Jan.).

The Dispute over Franciscan Poverty, 1226-1318—II. Henry J. G. Beck (*Eccl. Rev.,* Dec.).

Dante—His Friends and Enemies. Part I. Barbara Barclay Carter (*Dublin Rev.,* Jan.).

The Last Generations of Mediaeval Monachism. G. G. Coulton (*Speculum,* Oct.).

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A Forged Charter of William the Conqueror. George L. Haskins (*ibid.*).

Copérnico. Christóbal de Losada y Puga (*Revista de la Universidad Católica del Perú,* July).

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Mount Sinai Visited (April 27-May 9, 1914). Eric Burrows, S.J. (*Month,*Jan.).

The Lateran Treaty Is Outside Power Politics. John LaFarge (*America,* Feb. 26).

Propaganda Techniques of the English Civil Wars—and the Propaganda Psychosis of Today. Kermit Roosevelt, Jr. (*Pacific Histor. Rev.,* Dec.).

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EUROPEAN

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Charles-François Custis, Belgian Historian. Milton Rubincam (*Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Jan.).
A Remarkable Fifth Centenary: The Infante D. Fernando of Portugal [son of D. João I and Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt]. Lusofilo (*Month*, Nov.).
Italian Colonial Problems in 1919. René Albrecht-Carrié (*Political Science Quart.*, Dec.).
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Bismarck and Lasker. Veit Valentin (*ibid.*).
The Three Baltic Nations. F. W. Pick (*ibid.*).
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Pesch and Christian Solidarism. Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J. (*ibid.*).
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The Problem of Russia in Postwar Reconstruction. N. S. Timasheff (*ibid.*).
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BRITISH EMPIRE

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A Diplomatic Mission of Francis Accursius and his Oration before Pope Nicholas III. George L. Haskins and Ernst H. Kantorowicz (*ibid.*).
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Channel Islands Institutions—Past and Future. John le Patourel (*ibid.*).
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Irish Students Ordained in Rome (1625-1710). Bartholomew Egan, Cathaldus Giblin, and Cuthbert McGrath, O.F.M. (*ibid.*, Feb., 1943).
Textbooks of the Penal Day Friars. William D. O'Connell (*ibid.*).
Canterbury and Armagh 1414-1443. Aubrey Gwynn (*Studies*, Dec.).
Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France. Part VIII. Richard Hayes (*Studies*, Dec.).
Totalitarian Ulster. William John Tucker (*Catholic World*, Mar.).

AMERICAN

Plans for the Historiography of the United States in World War II. (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).
Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in New York State. Supplement No. 4 (*New York Hist.*, Jan.).
The Jeffersonian Tradition of Liberalism in America. Clement Eaton (*South Atlantic Quart.*, Jan.).
Old St. John's and Its Neighborhood [Philadelphia]. Joseph Jackson (*Records of the American Catholic Histor. Soc.*, Dec.).
P. C. Keely: Builder of Churches in the United States. Richard J. Purcell (*ibid.*).
On to Santa Fe [Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament at St. Catherine's School]. Sister M. Dolores (*ibid.*).
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The Episcopal Church and Reform [American reform movements such as abolition, temperance, etc.]. William Wilson Manross (*ibid.*).

Jeffersonville Parish Celebrates Centennial [St. George's Parish, Jeffersonville, New York]. Leonard David Perotti, O.F.M. (*Provincial Annals* of Most Holy Name Province, Jan.).

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Origin of the St. Raphael's Verein [*concl.*]. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, Jan. and Feb.).

Bishop Richard Vincent Whelan (1841-1850) and the Re-establishment of the Richmond Diocese. T. Byrnes Barry (*Catholic Virginian*, Jan. and Feb.).

The Founding of the Catholic University of America. Peter Guilday (*Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, Jan.).

Michigan Immigration. William L. Jenks (*Michigan Hist.*, Jan.).

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The Influence of New England in Denominational Colleges in the Northwest, 1830-1860. E. Kidd Lockard (*Ohio State Archaeological and Histor. Quart.*, Jan.).

Education in the Cherokee Nation. Abraham Eleazer Knepler (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Dec.).

The Home for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb and Blind of the Cherokee Nation. Carl T. Steen (*ibid.*).

Peter John De Smet: The Journey of 1840. W. L. Davis, S.J. (*Pacific Northwest Quart.*, Jan.).

The Romance of American Courts: Gaines vs. New Orleans. Perry Scott Rader (*Louisiana Histor. Quart.*, Jan.).

The Defense of Slavery in the Northern Press on the Eve of the Civil War. Howard C. Perkins (*Journal of Southern Hist.*, Nov.).

Cadillac's Early Years in America. Jean Delanglez (*Mid-America*, Jan.).

José de Anchieta: "Apostle of Brazil" (*concl.*). J. Manuel Espinosa (*ibid.*).

El Rio del Espiritu Santo [*cont.*]. Jean Delanglez (*ibid.*).

Le centenaire de l'arrivée des Oblats à Bytown (Ottawa) 1844-1944 [*cont.*]. Henri Morisseau, O.M.I. (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Jan.).

The Church and the CCF: the Canadian Hierarchy's Stand on Canada's "Socialist" Party. M. G. Ballantyne (*Commonweal*, Mar. 3).

Life of General Don Manuel de Mier y Teran as It Affected Texas-Mexican Relations (*cont.*). Ohland Morton (*Southwestern Histor. Quart.*, Jan.).

The Guadalupita Colony of Trinidad. Luis Baca (*Colorado Mag.*, Jan.).

Memoirs of Marian Russell. Mrs. Hal Russell (*ibid.*).

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Carlos de Alvear and James Monroe: New Light on the Origin of the Monroe Doctrine. Thomas B. Davis, Jr. (*ibid.*).

Walter Lippmann on U. S. Foreign Policy. Samuel Flagg Bemis (*ibid.*).

Negro History in Continental Spanish America. James Ferguson King (*Jour. of Negro Hist.*, Jan.).

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Christianity and the Churches in Latin America. Luis Alberto Sánchez (*Christendom*, Winter).

The Brazilian Racial Situation. Donald Pierson (*Scientific Monthly*, Mar.).

Algunos documentos sobre tipógrafos mexicanos del siglo XVI. Agustín Millares Carlo (*Filosofía y Letras*, Oct.).

Indice del humanismo mexicano. Gabriel Méndex Plancarte (*Abside*, Jan.).

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Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, primeiro bispo do Brasil. Frei Odulfo, O.F.M. (*Revista eclesiástica brasileira*, Sept.).

A ação católica e a opinião dos protestantes no Brasil. Angelo Rossi (*ibid.*).

A contribuição franciscana na formação religiosa do Capitania das Minas Gerais. Frei Basilio Röwer, O.F.M. (*ibid.*, Dec.).

First Principles and the Paraguayan Constitution. Sigfrido V. Gross-Brown (*Rev. of Politics*, Jan.).

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D. Fray Jerónimo de Loaysa, primer Obispo de Lima y primero en ser elevado a la dignidad arzobispal en Sud América. Vicente D. Sierra (*ibid.*).

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Anderson, Robert B. (Comp.), *A Supplement to Beale's Bibliography of Early English Law Books.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 50. $2.50.) The Ames Foundation has published this supplement compiled by the associate librarian of the Harvard Law School.

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Bailey, Frank Edgar, *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement. A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations, 1826-1853.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 312. $3.50.)

Black, C. E., *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria.* Princeton Studies in History, Vol. I. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 344. $3.75.)

Boak, Arthur E. R., *A History of Rome to 565 A. D.*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xiii, 552. $4.50.) This third edition of the popular text of the Richard Hudson professor of ancient history in the University of Michigan, has brought the contents up to date with the findings of recent scholarship which, "has necessitated the complete rewriting of considerable portions of the text" (p. v). Some of the maps have been improved in quality and a number of new illustrations added.

Bodenstedt, Sister Mary Immaculate, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian.* The Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature, Vol. XVI. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 160. $2.00.) The author devotes a chapter to a critical study of the life of Ludolphus of Saxony and then takes up his famous *Vita Christi.* Two valuable chapters identify his numerous sources and trace his very wide influence on subsequent writers throughout Europe. The fourth chapter analyses the method and contents of the vast work. The last chapter deals with prayer in the *Vita.* Anyone interested in the religious life of the later Middle Ages will need this careful study with its rich bibliography.

Bruckberger, R. M., *Rejoindre Dieu.* (Montreal: Les Editions Variétés. 1939. Pp. 61. 45c.).

Bulletin bibliographique de la Société des Ecrivains Canadiens. Année 1943. (Montréal: Editions de la Société des Ecrivains Canadiens. 1944. Pp. 109.)

Burckhardt, Jacob, *Force and Freedom. Reflections on History.* (New York: Pantheon Books Inc. 1943. Pp. vi, 382. $3.50.)

Burnett, Whit (Ed.), *The Seas of God. Great Stories of the Human Spirit.* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Co. 1944. Pp. 585. $3.00.) Nearly fifty well-known authors, numbering Sigrid Undset and Franz Werfel, here make contributions of stories of the spiritual life which have the greatest variation in belief and tone. It is another omnibus volume for those who wish their literature on a spiritual theme.

Caamoño, J. Jijón y, *Sebastian de Benalcazar.* Vol. II. (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana. 1938. Pp. 247, Appendix 202, Documents 190.)

———, *El Ecuador Interandino y Occidental antes de la Conquista Castellana.* 2 Vols. (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana. 1940, 1941. Pp. 536, 555.)

Carter, Clarence Edwin (Comp. and Ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States.* Vol. XI. *The Territory of Michigan, 1820-1829.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. vii, 1372. $3.25.)

Davenport, F. Garvin, *Ante-Bellum Kentucky. A Social History, 1800-1860.* Annals of America, Vol. V. (Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 238. $3.50.)

Diamond, William, *The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Vol. LXI. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. 1943. Pp. 210, xiv. Paper, $2.00; cloth, $2.50.)

Ducey, D. Michael, O.S.B. (Ed.), *National Liturgical Wook, 1943.* (Ferdinand, Ind.: Liturgical Conference. 1944. Pp. x, 182.) This volume contains the papers and addresses delivered at Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago, October 12-16, 1943, and is the fourth volume of the Conference's series.

Dulles, Foster Rheo, *The Road to Teheran. The Story of Russia and America, 1781-1943.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 279. $2.50.)

Elwell, Clarence Edward, *The Influence of the Enlightenment on the Catholic Theory of Religious Education in France, 1750-1850.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 335. $3.50.)

Engelbert, Omer (Ed.), *Vie de Jeanne D'Arc par elle-meme.* (Montreal: Les Editions Variéties. 1940. Pp. 72. 45c.)

Fifield, Russell H., and G. Etzel Pearcy, *Geopolitics in Principle and Practice.* (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1944. Pp. iv, 204. $2.25.)

Foerster, Norman (Ed.), *The Humanities after the War.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 95. $1.50.) Professor Foerster of the State University of Iowa, a strong friend of the humanities in American education, has edited in this volume seven brief essays on the role of the humanities in education after the war. The voices are generally friendly ones to the liberal arts and number Abraham Flexner, Roscoe Pound, Wendell Willkie, and an essay by the editor himself on "A University Prepared for Victory."

Gildea, Sister Marianna, *Expressions of Religious Thought and Feeling in the Chansons de Geste.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 297. $2.50.) This dissertation makes an effort to comprehend more fully the religious attitude of the mediaeval common man from a study of the expression of religious thought and feeling in the *chansons de geste.* It seeks to determine exactly what went on in the Old French mind when such words as *crestien, martir, beneir, peneance, Saint Esprit, paradis,* etc. were used. Among other things, the author concludes that the people who employed these terms were in no way mystics and that their worship was selfish rather than theocentric. A mediaeval historian who has at least a modicum of Old French will derive real profit from this study.

Grigassy, Julius, *A Textbook of the History of the Church of Christ for Greek Catholic Parochial Schools.* (Braddock, Pa.: 1943. Pp. 114.) The contents of this little brochure are well described by its title. It is divided into three sections corresponding to three major divisions in the history

of the Greek Catholic Church, and contains a chronological table of events and numerous illustrations. Father Grigassy's work is translated by the Reverend Michael B. Rapach of Clairton, Pennsylvania.

Guigues, Louis-Paul (Ed.), *Le Sang, La Croix, La Vérité* by Sainte Catherine de Sienne. (Montreal: Les Editions Variétés. 1940. Pp. 65. 45c.)

Hailey, Lord, *The Future of Colonial Peoples.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. 62. $1.00.) An essay on the future relations of colonial areas to the world powers, with a blueprint for the colonial peoples to work out their eventual autonomy.

Healy, Sister Emma Therese, *Saint Bonaventure's De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam. A Commentary with an Introduction and Translation.* (Saint Bonaventure: Saint Bonaventure College. 1939. Pp. ix, 212.)

Hendrickson, Walter Brookfield, *David Dale Owen, Pioneer Geologist of the Middle West.* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1943. Pp. xiii, 180. $2.00.)

Hewett, Edgar L., and Reginald G. Fisher, *Mission Monuments of New Mexico.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1943. Pp. 269. $4.00.)

Howay, F. W., W. N. Sage, and H. F. Angus, *British Columbia and the United States. The North Pacific Slope from Fur Trade to Aviation.* (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 408. $3.50.)

Hughes, Emmet John, *The Church and the Liberal Society.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. xv, 307. $3.00.)

Hughes, Philip, *The Popes' New Order. A Systematic Summary of the Social Encyclicals and Addresses, from Leo XIII to Pius XII.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. viii, 331. $2.50.)

Kerby Foundation, *Democracy: Should It Survive?* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. 159. $2.00.)

Keller, James, and Meyer Berger, *Men of Maryknoll.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. 191. $2.00.)

Kossak, Zofia, *Blessed Are the Meek.* (New York: Roy Publishers. 1944. Pp. vi, 375. $3.00.) This is an historical novel of the thirteenth century dealing with St. Francis and the period of the fifth crusade. The author is one of Poland's better-known contemporary writers. The work has been translated by Rulka Langer.

Landheer, Bartholomew (Ed.), *The Netherlands.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 464. $5.00.)

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, A. D. 1800–A. D. 1914.* Vol. VI. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1944. Pp. ix, 602. $4.00.)

Leland, Waldo G., John J. Meng, and Abel Doysie, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris.* Vol. II. *Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1943. Pp. xii, 1078. Paper, $3.50; cloth, $4.00.)

Lord, Clifford L., and Elizabeth H., *Historical Atlas of the United States.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1944. Pp. xviii, 253. $1.75.)

Manning, Warren Francis, *The Life of Saint Dominic in Old French Verse.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xiii, 358. $4.00.) Dr. Manning of West Virginia University has contributed Volume XX to the Harvard Studies in Romance Languages. It is a revision of his doctoral dissertation. The introduction and notes are chiefly linguistic in nature. He shows that this thirteenth-century Romance text is taken from the Latin *Legenda* of Petrus Ferrandi. It was probably written by a Dominican of the Beauvaisis for the edification of a lay group, possibly a community of Béguines. The foreword is contributed by Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati.

Marguerite, Sister M., *Here We Are Again.* Faith and Freedom Series, Second Pre-Primer. (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1944. Pp. 48. 28c.)

Marriott, Sir J. A. R., *A Short History of France.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 291. $2.75.)

Maryknoll Mission Letters. Vol. II. *1943.* (New York: Field Afar Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 54. 50c.) The bulk of the newest addition to Maryknoll's series of letters comes from South America since the motherhouse has had no word at all from Manchukuo and little from China. There are six letters, however, from China which have been included in this volume. These little volumes will be excellent source material some day for the student of American missiology.

Maynard, Theodore, *Orestes Brownson. Yankee, Radical, Catholic.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xvi, 456. $3.00.)

Milling, Chapman J., *Exile Without An End.* (Columbia, S. Ca.: Bostick and Thornley, Inc. 1943. Pp. xii, 88. $2.00.)

Moore, Philip S., C.S.C., and Marthe Dulong, *Sententiae Petri Pictaviensis.* Vol. VII of Publications in Mediaeval Studies. (Notre Dame: Publications in Mediaeval Studies. 1943. Pp. lxii, 326.)

Peers, E. Allison, *Spirit of Flame. A Study of St. John of the Cross.* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1944. Pp. xiii, 214. $2.00.)

Plumpe, Joseph C., *Mater Ecclesia. An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity.* Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity, No. 5. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1943. Pp. xxi, 149. $2.00.)

Reany, William, *St. Theodore of Canterbury.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1944. Pp. ix, 227. $2.00.)

Rice, Madeleine Hooke, *American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 177. $2.50.)

Ristelhueber, René, *Mission Française.* (Montreal: Les Editions Variétés. 1943. Pp. 223.)

Sage, Carleton M., *Paul Albar of Córdoba: Studies on His Life and Writings.* The Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History, New Series. Vol. V. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 239. $2.00.) Albarus has, as a rule, been treated in connection with his martyr-friend Eulogius. This dissertation deals with him in his own right. Part I gives an account of his exciting life in ninth-century Cordova and a general survey of his rather voluminous writings. The other three parts are special studies of several of his works. Part II deals with the Christian attitude toward rhetoric discussed in some of his correspondence and with certain theological problems threshed out in others of his letters. Part III is an admirable study of Albar's *Confessio.* It traces the little-known literary tradition of the work, its borrowings and style, as well as its connection with the sacrament of penance. Part IV offers an annotated translation of Albar's *Life of Eulogius,* an unusual and extremely interesting bit of hagiographical writing. There are appendixes on the manuscripts and editions of Albar's works and one of the *Liber Scintillarum,* wrongly attributed to him.

Stenton, F. M., *Anglo-Saxon England.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 747. $7.50.)

Strakhovsky, Leonid I., *Intervention at Archangel. The Story of Allied Intervention and Russian Counter-Revolution in North Russia, 1918-1920.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 336. $3.00.)

Symonolewicz, Konstanty, *The Studies in Nationality and Nationalism in Poland between the Two Wars (1918-1939). A Bibliographical Survey.* (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. Pp. 73.) Mr. Symonolewicz has done a service to twentieth-century Poland in compiling this careful survey of the literature of the Polish state since 1919.